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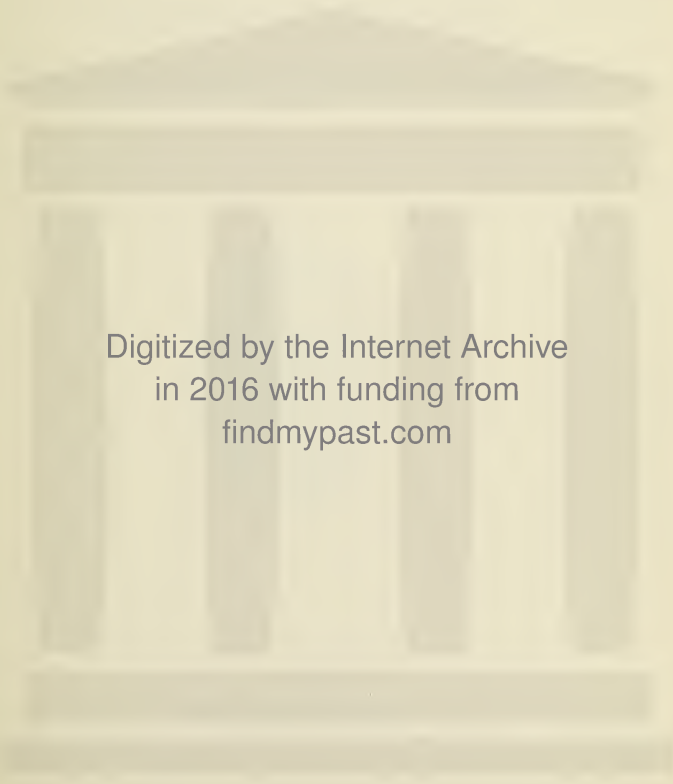
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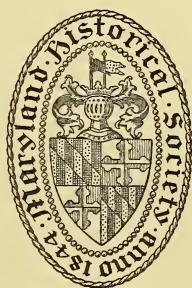
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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF
THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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VOLUME XXXIV

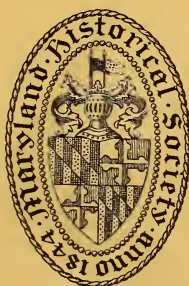
BALTIMORE
1939

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The Maryland Historical Magazine



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Published Quarterly by the
MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

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 Dominicall Letter, & Epact, And a
 Table of the New Moons for
 XXX Years.*

*Also the Suns place, it's Riseing and
 Setting, The Length of y^e dayes & nights,
 And Moveable Feasts for ever..
 With severall other usefull Remarques
 Calculated for y^e Meridian of the said
 Provinces.*

By John Seller.



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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXXIV.

MARCH, 1939.

No. 1.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BOOKS RELATING TO MARYLAND

By JOHN W. GARRETT

Sometime ago I read a paper before the P. L. Club of Baltimore on such of the books in the annexed list as happened to be in my library at Evergreen House. The present paper is an enlargement of the earlier one, recording later accessions. A previous list was sent to libraries and collectors both here and abroad from whom, almost without exception, I have received nothing but courteous and in many cases great help, without which the list would have been even farther from completion than it now is. I am particularly indebted to Miss Elizabeth Baer, librarian at Evergreen, who has worked intelligently and unsparingly over catalogues and bibliographies, and to Mr. Lawrence Wroth, formerly of Baltimore, now director of the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, in whose care are examples of more than half the titles and editions in the list. Mr. Wroth has from the beginning of my effort given me encouragement. It is hoped that anyone with pertinent information will help in the completion or at least the extension of this list by sending me whatever may serve these ends.

The Evergreen Library was made by my father, T. Harrison Garrett, and I have added to it many items since his death in 1888, particularly an important lot of seventeenth century books relating to Maryland collected by the late Mr. Willard A. Baldwin, a Baltimorean. Some of these and other later acquisitions have, I believe, come to Maryland now for the first time and here, I hope, they will always remain and be added to.

The books with which this paper deals were printed, beginning almost immediately after the founding of the Colony in 1634 up to and including the year 1700. They were printed for the most part in London, but some bear the imprints of Paris, Oxford, Amsterdam,

The Hague and other places, and a few of which copies have almost or entirely disappeared, of Annapolis. There are in all one hundred and nine titles besides different editions in the annexed list of which some fifty are in the Evergreen Library.

I am including a few books printed before there was a Maryland, namely the works of the redoubtable Captain John Smith, because his maps cover what a few years later became the third colony. Of the maps that concern Maryland there are listed eleven varieties—differing in the main only by the addition of names or arms or dates. Of Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles* no less than six editions are known, the first and last, 1624 and 1632, being in the Evergreen Library. (Almost the same dates as the first and second Shakespeare folios). The maps in these two copies are the 9th and 10th states in the list compiled by Eames. A much earlier map appears in Smith's *A Map of Virginia with a Description of the Countrey . . .* printed at Oxford in 1612. This map differs very slightly from the No. 1 of Eames' list in which it is given the number 2. It contains the dates 1606 and 1607 which do not appear on the earlier map, but it lacks Smith's coat of arms which appears on No. 3. All the earlier maps are rare.

Both Hakluyt's *Voyages* and *Purchas his Pilgrimes* give accounts of voyages to what is now Maryland during the sixteenth century but they really refer to Virginia, though sometimes they spill over the Potomac and the Upper Chesapeake. Volume four of the fine five volume set of *Purchas* which is in this library, as well as the Hakluyts of 1589 and 1600, contains a copy of Smith's map, No. 10 in Eames' list.

De Bry, in his monumental work, of which a set of the first Latin Editions of the *Great Voyages*, is in this library, also gives many accounts and descriptions of what is now Maryland.

"In 1623, Sir George Calvert, afterwards the first Lord Baltimore, obtained a patent conveying to him the lordship of the whole southern peninsula of Newfoundland, and the right of fishing in the surrounding waters. He planted a colony at Ferryland, 40 miles north of Cape Race, where he built a handsome mansion and resided with his family for many years. The French so harassed his settlement by incessant attacks that he at length abandoned it." Thus the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

But it was the climate (which the *Encyclopedia* carefully refrains from mentioning) rather than the French that induced Baltimore in 1629 to write the king complaining that the winter lasted from October to May, that half his company had been sick, and ten were dead,

and to beg for a grant of lands in a more genial country. The Charter of Maryland was the result of this petition but the first Lord Baltimore died a couple of months before it was granted.

So much for Avalon which I have included here because of its family connection with Maryland and also because of a few books written in or about Lord Baltimore's first Plantation which are in my library. One is a little book, *The Newlanders Cvre*, by Sir William Vaughan, who went to Newfoundland with Baltimore. It prescribes a "Cheepe and Newfound Dyet," for such as should go to Avalon, but either the colonists didn't use it or it didn't work, for, as we have learned above, Baltimore complained that half of his company had been sick and ten had died.

Vaughan gives recipes for Scurvy, Coughes, Feavers, Goute, Collicke and even Sea-sicknesses. His diet would hurt no one in this day for it is based on abstemiousness and moderation. It is interesting to note that Vaughan was violently anti-Papist which is perhaps a reason why he did not follow the Baltimores to Maryland. The first Lord Baltimore was a convert to Catholicism. Vaughan covers not only the body's infirmities but, in the second part of his little book, the infirmities of the mind—this part in poetry of which the less said the better. Vaughan himself admonishes his readers to "Muse on the Matter, More then the Meeter."

Robert Hayman, sometime governor of Harbor-Grace in Bristols-Hope in Britaniola, anciently called Newfound-Land, published in London in 1628 *Quodlibets*, which he describes on the title-page: "The first foure Bookes being the Authors owne: the rest translated out of that Excellent Epigrammatist, Mr. Iohn Owen, and other rare Authors: With two Epistles of that excellently wittie Doctor Francis Rablais: Translated out of his French at large."

The book is dedicated "To the Kings most Excellent Maiestie, Charles," who, amongst other titles, is given those of "Emperour of South, and North Virginia, King of Britaniola, or Newfound-Land, and the Isles adjacent, Father Fauouer, and Furtherer of all his loyall Subjects right Honourable and Worthie Plantations." It is the earliest volume of poems by an American colonial author. One of the poems printed in the book is by William Vaughan, of the *Newlanders Cvre*, who was a friend of Hayman, who dedicated to him one of his epigrams in which he mentions Vaughan's *Golden Fleece*. Three of the epigrams are addressed, in very flattering terms, to the first Lord Baltimore, Lord of Avalon in Newfound-Land, and one "To the right worshipfull William Robinson of Tinwell in Rutlandshire Esquire, come over to see Newfound-Land with my Lord of Baltamore. 1627."

The flavor of this little book may be gauged from the following quotations:

*On a Good fellow Papist, who makes no bones
to eate Flesh on Fasting dayes.*

Thou holdst, thou saist, the old Religion,
Yet I know, the Dyet best likes thee.
That which thou callst the new opinion,
I hold, yet the old Dyet best likes mee.

and

Why wiues can make no Wills.

Men, dying make their Wills: why cannot Wiues?
Because, Wiues haue their wills, during their liues.

and another

*To the right Honourable Sir George Calvert, Knight,
late Principall Secretary to King Iames, Baron of
Baltomore, and Lord of Aualon in
Newfound-land.*

Your worth hath got you Honour in your dayes.
It is my honour, you my verses praise.
O let your Honour cheerefully goe on;
End well your well begunne Plantation.
This holy hopefull worke you haue halfe done,
For best of any, you haue well begunne.
If you giue ouer what hath so well sped,
Your sollid wisdom will be questioned.

The Golden Fleece by Vaughan is another book of Avalon. It was written in Newfoundland itself "for the generale and perpetuall Good of Great Britaine." It is in three parts thus described by the author: "In the first Part I will endeavour to remoue the Errours of Religion, in the Second Diseases of the Common-wealth: And in the Third Part I will discover the certainty of the Golden Fleece, which shall restore vs to all worldly Happiness."

The map of Newfoundland, which is often wanting, is said by Winsor to be based on Capt. John Mason's surveys, and is the earliest special representation of the configuration of that coast. Vaughan, again according to Winsor, "had in mind to set forth the advantages of his colony in print, but the booksellers convinced him that plain statements never sold, and so in a fantastic way he got up a little book, mixing truth and fiction with more quaintness than assimilation, which gives the present reader scarcely more satisfaction than it afforded the wandering minds of his own day, who could feed on whimsicalities enough nearer home." That is a very good measure

of the book. There are a few bare mentions of the Lord Baltimore's plantation.

Of the books specifically Marylandia the earliest is probably the printed *Charter*, though it bears no date. The Charter was granted in 1632. The original Charter has disappeared and there are only three copies known of this printing, one of them fortunately belonging to Mr. Griswold, of Baltimore.

Next in date comes *A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-land, nigh upon Virginia: manifesting the Nature, Quality, Condition, and rich Vtilities it contayneth*. The only known copy of this is in the archives of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster but Mr. Baldwin caused a facsimile to be published in Baltimore in 1929 to which Mr. Wroth wrote an introduction. This *Declaration* is as it were a promotion tract got out to induce adventurers to go to the new colony. It is generally supposed to have been written by Father Andrew White, the Apostle of Maryland, who accompanied the expedition, and may be counted as the earliest printed description of our state. Mr. Wroth has fully and very clearly described this *Declaration*, its origin and contents, in his introduction to Mr. Baldwin's reprint mentioned above and I shall not go further into it except to quote a few paragraphs which show pretty well what its author was driving at. To go on this voyage he says is "An intentment so full of Christian honor, making men Angels who undertake it, as never more noble Enterprise entered into English hearts." (He was quoting what St. Gregory had said so long before: "Non Angli sed Angeli.") "The Ayre, serene and gentle, not so hot as Florida, and old Virginia, nor so cold as New England, but between them both, having the good of each, and the ill of neither." There are name-lists of trees and plants, of birds and beasts and especially of fish. The reason for the great abundance of fish in the Chesapeake and Delaware bays is "for that the North-east Wind blowing ever constant from the Canary Isles, rolles the Ocean and the fish with it into Mexico-Bay, where finding no passage South or West, is forced up North with a strong current [we call it now the "Gulf Stream"] and sweepeth along with great shoales of Fish, by the Coast of Florida, Virginia, Mary-land, New England and New-found-land, which fleeing the Whales, who feed upon them, make to the land and take the Protection of shallower waters. . . ."

It is a very readable little book. In a footnote the adventurer is informed that the Lord Baltemore, who sails in September next, on his ship the *Arke of Mary-land* of "about 400 Tunne," sits in his office in Bloomsberry at the upper end of Holboyne in London, where

he "hath good advantage to assist" the would-be adventurer in "those things, by reason of the many Provisions hee maketh both for himself and others. . . ."

After the *Declaration* follow in 1634 and 1635 two *Relations*. Of the first only two copies are known, one in the John Carter Brown Library and the other in the British Museum, but there was in Mr. Baldwin's collection a manuscript copy of the first which is now here. The earlier one describes "the succesfulle beginnings of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-land" and "the conditions of plantation propounded by his Lordship for the second voyage intended this present yeere, 1634." Of the *Relation* of 1635 the British Museum has three copies, The New York Public Library two and there are perhaps nine others known including the one in the Maryland Historical Society, which lacks the map, and the two here, one of which, alas, also lacks the map. The text consists of 56 pages the last 4 of which are missing from one of the Evergreen copies. This is followed by a reprint of the *Charter of Maryland* covering 25 pages—the second printing of that document. Besides an account of the first settlement at St. Maries, the 27th day of March, 1634, this little book has excellent chapters describing the lay of the land and its climate, the "Commodities which this countrey affords naturally," or "that may be procured in Maryland by industry" including Orange and Limon trees, lately planted "which thrive very wel." "And if there were no other staple commodities to be hoped for, but Silke and Linnen (the materialls of which, apparently, will grow there), it were sufficient to enrich the inhabitants." There are chapters on the Indians and on the rules and regulations laid down by the proprietor and for the provisions for Ship-board, for Trade, House, Husbandry, for Fishing and Fowling and on the choice of servants.

It also is a very readable little book and I recommend it in this day as worth reading. The fee, or whatever the proper word is, for the grant of Maryland, as written in the *Charter*, was "two Indian Arrowes of these parts, to be delivered to Our Said Castle of Windsor, every yeare on the Tuesday in Easter weeke." Are any of these interesting arrows still preserved at Windsor? I am afraid not for in answer to an inquiry by Chief Judge Bond, the Deputy Constable and Lieutenant Governor, after a careful search, wrote that no trace could be found at Windsor of any of them.

For several years after 1635 there were, so far as I know, no books or pamphlets about Maryland printed. In 1642 Thomas Lechford, the first Boston lawyer, wrote his *Plain Dealing; or, Nevves from New-England*—an important contribution to New England's his-

tory. This book has a special value in being one of the few of any consequence of its time not written by a Churchman nor from the Churchman's point of view. There is only one short sentence referring to Maryland, "neare to that [namely Virginia] is Maryland, where they are Roman Catholiques, they say."

There is another edition of 1644, composed of the sheets of the first edition of *Plain Dealing*, but with a new title-page: *New-Englands Advice to Old-England*. It contains the same scant reference to Maryland and is far rarer than the first edition.

In the same year was printed in London *A Short Discoverie Of the Coasts and Continent of America* by William Castell. It opens with a reprinting of the author's Petition of 1641 to the Parliament, "for the propagation of the Gospell in America" with the Ordinance of 1643 in answer to it.

The book gives descriptive chapters of the colonies from Newfoundland to Florida and of the West Indies, English, French and Spanish, and includes also Mexico and Guiana. At the end he writes: "The Southerne Description of America (God permitting) shall shortly be set forth in another book." But this never appeared. There is really no direct reference to Maryland, but in the Virginia chapter we are told of the Chesapeake and the Patowomeke—"a very wide and deepe River" as well as of the Pawtunxt, "the Inhabitants whereof on either side cannot bring into the field above two hundred men." The Sasquesahanoxs, "who lye most Northerly about two miles from the grand River Chesepeacke, are Giants in comparison of us; that other, as the Wickocomacks are Dwarfs, though for the most part they are of a competent stature, borne white, but turning tawny by continuall painting of themselves."

In 1646 appeared *A Moderate and Safe Expedient to remove Jealousies and Feares, of any danger, or prejudice to this State, by the Roman Catholics of this Kingdome, and to mitigate the censure of too much severity towards them*. This tract is very rare. Aside from the copies at Mendham College, London, the John Carter Brown Library at Providence and this one at Evergreen there is no other copy known.

The tract consists of two parts, one a plea that Catholics be allowed to sell their property in England and emigrate to Maryland and the other a series of questions and answers tending to refute objections that seem to have been made to the granting of the charter. Though the printed volume is dated 1646, Lathrop Harper who has written about it, is led to believe that the second part may have been written much earlier, perhaps by Father Richard Blount, Provincial of the

English Society of Jesus, who is known to have acted as adviser to Lord Baltimore in the furthering of his venture in its early stages. Indeed, as Harper notes, while the *Moderate and Safe Expedient* describes a place and government in being, the *Objections Answered* speak of it, particularly in the last paragraph, as a colony not yet established. Sometimes it was not easy to persuade adventurers to adventure. "For divers Malefactors in this Kingdome, have chosen rather to be hanged than to goe into Virginia, when upon that condition, they have bin offered their lives, even at the place of Execution. . . ."

Three years later, in 1649, appeared: *Virginia Impartially examined, and left to publick view* by William Bullock, Gent. It is addressed to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey and the Lord Baltimore (this time spelt with a second "a" instead of the usual "e" and the rare "o" of those days and the "i" of ours).

Bullock had never been to America but he had read about it and talked with ships' captains who had made the voyage and he came to the conclusion that it was a fair country rottenly governed. He devised a scheme for a government to cure the "disease" as he calls it and elaborated his fancy over more than a third of the pages of his book. The rest is advice to adventurers how to out-fit themselves and how to behave when they got there, largely taken it would seem from the books of other men which he had read.

He thus describes the climate of Maryland, about which he has little else to say. "Maryland," he says, "is also very pleasant and wholesome, and is further Northerly . . . whence it is, that some men, in the months of June, July, and August, finding their constitution of body not so well agreeing with heat, retyre themselves in those months to Mary-land, which is but twelve hours passage by Boat from Virginia, and there enjoy perfect health, although sick when they left Virginia."

In 1651 appeared Gardyner's *A Description of the New World*. From the North West Passage, not then discovered, down the coast from Newfoundland to Florida, through the West Indies, through New Spain from Mexico all the way to the Straits of Magellan, Gardyner roams. In his chapter on Maryland he has nothing new to say. He thought it "likely to be a flourishing Country."

The struggles between Lord Baltimore and the Puritans, growing out of the overthrow of monarchy and civil war in England led not only to some pretty fighting in Maryland including the seizure and plundering of the capital at St. Mary's, but to the production of several books of great interest in the history of the state. Only one of

them is in the Evergreen Library. It is called *Virginia and Maryland. or, The Lord Baltimore's printed Case, uncased and answered*. It was printed in London in 1655 and was a very natural attempt at refutation of the *Lord Baltemore's Case, Concerning the Province of Maryland* which had appeared two years before and of which a rare copy is in the New York Public Library.

Winsor says of the 1653 pamphlet that, "although written by Lord Baltimore, or under his direction, it is a temperate and reliable statement," and of the answer of 1655, that "it is of value in giving a full statement of the Puritan side of the controversy." Besides the arguments against Lord Baltimore this pamphlet gives the proceedings in Parliament in 1652 relating to Maryland, copies of the instructions to the commissioners for the reducement of Virginia and Maryland, forms of oaths to be administered in Maryland, petitions to Bennet and Claibourn, the "Commissioners of the Common-wealth of England, for Virginia and Maryland" from the inhabitants of Severn river and of the North-side of Patuxent, the commissioners' answers thereto; as well as copies of other documents important to the history of our State.

A curious piece came from Paris in 1655. It is entitled *La Descente des Anglois en l'Isle Espagnole, avec ce qui s'est passé en la Province de Mariland dans l'Amérique*. . . . It is in the form of a news-sheet, a common means of publication and has "late news," or as one might say "flashes" from various countries of the Continent and Scotland. The Maryland item however gives it its title and its importance to us. It has to do with the troubles of 1655—the Protestant uprising—and it is most interesting that any account of them should have been printed so promptly in Paris. Maryland is spelt with an "i" in the title but with a "y" in the body of the work and Baltimore is spelt with an "i"—the first time I have come across it in its modern spelling.

The news relating to Maryland may be translated as follows: "Captain Stone, commandant for the Lord Baltimore in the Province of Maryland in America, having joined with the other councillors of his Lordship and a few soldiers, in Anne Arundel County, to arrest those who refused to obey him, there was a fierce fight between them, from which not more than five of Captain Stone's party were able to escape, all the others being killed or made prisoners, amongst them William Eltonhead, Esquire, who was shot together with Messrs William Lewes and Legal."

In the same year was printed *Babylon's Fall in Maryland* by Leonard Strong. There are copies in the British Museum and the Boston

Athenaeum, and the Church copy, but not one here. But the answer to it, John Langford's *A Just and Cleare Refutation* of that "false and scandalous pamphlet" is in the Evergreen Collection. This is a long diatribe against Strong's *Babylon*, but it does not seem worth while to quote from one without the other. It contains in addition a Law of Maryland concerning Religion and a Declaration concerning the same and several other reprints. It is part of the bitter religious difficulties of the time that all of us, if we ever knew about them, have long forgotten. Langford received from Lord Baltimore a gift of 1500 acres as a reward for writing the *Refutation*.

There are two editions of *America: or An exact Description of the West-Indies: More especially of those Provinces which are under the Dominion of the King of Spain*, anonymously published in London in 1655 and 1657. One would not expect much about Maryland under such a title and indeed there is but a bare mention of the "Commission granted to Sir George Calvert, made Lord Baltimore in Ireland, to possess and plant the Southern partes thereto, [namely of the Dutch claims], lying towards Virginia, by the name of Maryland; and to Sir Edmund Loyden [Plowden] to plant the Northern parts towards New-England, by the name of Nova-Albion: Which makes the Dutch the second time seem willing to compound; and for the summe of two thousand and five hundred pounds, they offer to be gone, and leave all they had there."

A remarkable book but equally of slight Maryland interest is by Sir Ferdinando Gorges: *America Painted to the Life*. Besides A Description of New England and a Narration of the Advancement of the Plantations there, which is really Edward Johnson's *A History of New-England*, better known as *VVonder-working Providence of Sions Savior*, this compilation includes the "History of the Spaniards Proceedings in America and their Conquests of the Indians," with a horrible picture of their cruelty towards the Indians, "from Columbus his first Discovery, to these later Times." The only direct mention of Maryland is that "on the west side of the great *Virginia Bay*, there lyeth a Province called *Maryland*, on the North side of the River *Patomuck*, and divided from *Virginia* by the said River."

The next book on my list is another contribution to the religious difficulties. It is Francis Howgill's *The Deceiver of the Nations Discovered and his Cruelty Made Manifest*. . . . It was printed in London in 1660 and was to be sold "at the sign of the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate." It is very wordy and very long. The cases of sufferings described pertaining to Maryland are taken word for word from *For the King and Both Houses of Parliament*, a

Quaker tract of the same year, a copy of which is in the John Carter Brown Library. Howgill himself never visited America but was much stirred up over the persecution here of the Quakers about this time. Mr. Wroth considers this an important Maryland book, generally overlooked by students and collectors.

Four years before it was written the Council had remonstrated that Quakers had declared that "they were to be governed by Gods lawe and the light within them and not by mans lawe . . . and that their principles tended to the destruction of all Government." Whatever the persecutions may have been, and there is little doubt that Protestants and Catholics and Quakers didn't always get on well together even in this sweet land, it is interesting to read in Andrew's *History of Maryland* that the noted Quaker, Wenlock Christison, who had been lashed and imprisoned and starved in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in the Plymouth Colony and in what is now New Hampshire, and could not find contentment even in Roger William's Rhode Island, finally, some years after Howgill's book appeared, settled down in Talbot County, on the Eastern Shore, where he lived at his ease, and was even elected, as were other Quakers, to the Maryland House of Burgesses.

The first 13 pages of Howgill's book are devoted to denunciations of the Devil—The Deceiver of the Nations, and of Babylon and her evil works as exemplified both in Europe and Maryland. Later pages are given over to "a declaration of the Sufferings of Thomas Thurston, and other friends, whilst they were in the Province of Mariland, and also the losse of Goods and Lands of many of the inhabitants in that Province, By order from Sicilia Baltamore and his officers, in the year, 1658. and 1659." and of another "Declaration of the Sufferings of the Inhabitants of the Province of Mariland in Virginia." They recount the fines and whippings "because they could not swear," that is take the oath, and would not train for or serve in the militia. They must have been a good deal of a nuisance, these Quakers, but that they were badly treated now and then for their conscience sake seems evident.

The First Part of *New England Judged* by George Bishop appeared in 1661, the Second in 1667. "This," quoting from the Church Catalogue, "is a work of great historical importance in connection with the Quaker persecutions in New England." The two parts contain nearly 350 pages of vivid denunciation of brutal treatment in Massachusetts, especially in "Your Metropolis of blood, the bloody Boston," with long details of whippings, brandings and executions and with letters from the sufferers and their friends. The

author contrasts these cruelties with the kind treatment of Quakers in parts of Europe, particularly in the dominions of the Grand Turk, and with the safe-passage and care often given them by the Indians in America especially the Susquehanocs. There are a few unimportant references to Maryland, chiefly indicating that there was less persecution in that Province.

In 1669 appeared a little tract of only five pages by Nathaniel Shrigley, *A True Relation of Virginia and Mary-land*, "Published by Allowance," with the usual lists of birds and beasts and trees and crops and so forth. It is not of much importance except to a bibliophile.

The largest tome in all this series is John Ogilby's *America* which includes not only the English provinces but the *vast Empires of Mexico and Peru and a brief Survey of what hath been discovered of the Unknown South-Land and the Arctick Region*. Ogilby was as he describes himself "His Majesty's Cosmographer, Geographick Printer, and Master of the Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland" and his book was brought out by the Author in London in 1671. It is dedicated to "the Right Worshipful the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the Worshipful Company of Mercers," and here Ogilby describes himself as "Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London."

The part relating to Maryland covers nine pages and there is besides a map of the Colony. Ogilby gives an outline of the history of the Province, and accounts of its soil and products and a great deal about the Indians. There are he says "Sundry Sorts of Singing Birds, whereof one is call'd a *Mock-Bird* because it imitates all other birds; some are red, which sing like Nightingales, but much louder [rather a compliment to our Cardinal!]; others black and Yellow, which last sort excels more in Beauty than tune, and is by the *English* there call'd the *Baltemore-Bird*, because the Colours of his Lordship's Coat of Arms are black and yellow." This is a sumptuous book with many beautiful maps, engraved portraits of the great discoverers, views of the chief cities and of the aborigines and their customs.

Three editions, of which the first is in the Evergreen Library, of a *Recueil de divers Voyages fait en Afrique et en l'Amérique . . .* were published in Paris in 1674, 1680 and 1684. The African part contains a Description of the Empire of Prester-John, but much more than half the book is given over to the West Indies of which some 220 pages are devoted to Barbados alone. This leaves little for the rest of America. The part describing the English Colonies on the mainland covers only some 25 pages, but these enclose a map

of Virginia, Mariland and New England. To Maryland are given three and a half pages whose contents seem to be translated straight from Blome.

John Speed's Atlas, called *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, came out in London in 1676. It is a beautiful piece of work in folio, with handsome engraved titles and dedication, 96 maps with descriptive and historical text. The greater part of this work consists of maps of the English Counties—it was the second atlas of county maps to appear—but the earlier editions, beginning in 1611, did not contain the American maps, two of which show Maryland—one with northern Virginia, and the other with New England, New York and New Jersey. Eight Maryland counties are named on the map and two more in the text, as well as the Baltimore Town on the Bush river and Baltimore Manor in Cecil County. The description of Maryland covers a full page in two columns. "Cresentia" Speed writes "was the name first in designation of this Countrey; but it being left to his Majesty at the time of his signing of the Bill, to give it what denomination he judged fittest: he was pleased in honour of his Royal Consort Queen Mary, to erect it into a Province by the name of Mary-land." The text does not differ in any essential from many others.

Three editions of le Sieur Dassié's *Description Générale des Costes de l'Amérique* were published at Rouen in 1676 and 1677 and at Le Havre in 1680. The coasts, countries and islands from Canada to Patagonia and on the Pacific from the Straits of Magellan to California are described in some detail. "Maryland," he says, "is divided by the Chosopeak Gulf. The country is low for the most part but has some charming little hills." The soil is fertile. The province is divided into ten counties, the names of which are all familiar to us except one Betancor, which he places between Ann Arundel and Calvert. Obviously this must be a bad misprint for Baltimore!

Ste. Maries, he says, is the largest town, the port for all commerce and the residence of the principal officials of the province.

1685 was a year prolific in Maryland books. Nathaniel Crouch, under the pseudonym of Robert Burton, sent forth the first edition of his *English Empire in America*. Chapter VIII, "A Prospect of Mary-land," is chiefly concerned with the Indians, their gods and ceremonies. The paragraph devoted to the land, its inhabitants, its history and government contains nothing original. There is a map showing Maryland confined to the Eastern Shore.

In the same year appeared George Scot's *The Model of the Gov-*

ernment of the Province of East-New-Jersey in America printed at Edinburgh. This book is said to have led nearly two hundred persons to embark in September 1685 for East-New-Jersey on the *Henry and Francis*, a name, as one historian states, which deserves as permanent a position in the annals of New Jersey as does that of the *Mayflower* in those of Massachusetts. It is easy to see why no one who read it came to Maryland for this is what the author has to say: "I have also Travelled in *Maryland*, I cannot but say it is a good Countrey, but its possessed with a Debauched, Idle, Leasie People, all that they Labour for is only as much Bread as serves them for one Season, and als much Tobacco as may furnish them with Cloaths, I believe it is the worst improved countrey in the world; for the *Indian wheat* is what they trust to, and if that fail them they may expect to starve."

Apparently also in 1685 appeared a very attractive little book: *An Almanack for the Provinces of Virginia and Maryland* by John Seller, and to be "Sold by the Author at the Hermitage in Wapping, London." Its twenty-four pages are all finely engraved not printed—it contains two maps of Virginia and Maryland—one covering a third of a page and the other two pages. The counties of Maryland are named and also the town of Baltimore (that is the Old Baltimore on the Bush river which was once upon a time the county seat of Baltimore County and has long since disappeared), Baltimore Manor, then in Baltimore County, now, at least its site, in Cecil, Darlington, Arondelton, Herington, Pascattoway, Plum Point, Warrington, Calverton, Bristol, Herrington and St. Maries on the Western Shore and Cecilton, Worldend, Lancford, St. Michels, Oxford, Trips, Catharin, Somerset and Swansecut on the Eastern Shore. Nearly all of these have long since given up the ghost. I have never been able to find out anything about this little book or to trace another copy.

In 1672 and 1678, was published by Richard Blome: *A Description of the Island of Jamaica; With the Other Isles and Territories in America, to which the English are Related*. . . . Besides the West Indies, this book has chapters on Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, New-York, New-England and New-Found-Land.

The Maryland chapter covers ten pages and is accompanied by a map dedicated to the second Lord Baltimore. Maryland was then bounded on the South by Virginia, "(from which it is parted by the River Patowmeck, whose Southerly bank divides the Province from Virginia;) on the East, the Atlantic Ocean, and Delaware-Bay; on the North, New-England, and New-York, formerly part of New-England, lying on the East side of Delaware-Bay; and on the West,

the true Meridian of the first fountain of the River Patowmeck. The country is very healthful, the Soyl is Rich and Fertil, their is Competent stock of ready mony, both of English, Forreign, and his Lordships own Coyne." This last item is an exaggeration. As a matter of fact, Cecilius had caused silver shillings, sixpences and groats to be struck in England in 1659 but they are all so rare today that it is generally believed they were never even brought over to the colony and, if they were, that they circulated there in the smallest numbers. There were no other Maryland coins until Chalmers struck his silver pieces at Annapolis in 1783. "The Inhabitants," Blome continues, "being in number at present about 16,000 have begun the building of several Townes, which in few Yeares 'tis hoped may come to some perfection; as Calverton, Herrington, and Harvey-Town, all Commodiously seated for the benefit of Trade, and conveniency of Shipping, but the principal Town is St. Maryes, seated on St. Georges River, being beautified with divers well-built Houses, and is the chief place or scale of Trade for the Province, where the Governour his Lordships Son and Heir, Mr. Charles Calvert hath his House, and where the General Assembly, the Provincial Courts are held and Publique Offices kept; but at present the said Governour doth reside at Mattapany, about 8 miles distant where he hath a fair and pleasant House."

The Blome of 1678 does not add anything to the first edition except a fine engraved portrait of Admiral de Ruyter and a map of Barbados. Rather incongruously, some twenty pages on *The Present State of Algiers* appear with a long list "of the Ships brought in and destroyed by the Alger Corsayres." It was not until many years later, in 1804, that we went to war with the Dey of Algiers, and pretty well broke up this practice, in so far at least as American ships were concerned.

Richard Blome wrote other books, or perhaps it were more correct to say, edited editions of his first one, under other titles. There is *The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America*, which in so far as Maryland is concerned adds nothing of importance to the descriptions mentioned above. But there is a new portrait of James the Second, and many new maps. There is even a French translation of 1688, purporting to have been printed at Amsterdam. Of this there is an uncut copy in the original paper wrappers at Evergreen.

A good deal of what Blome wrote seems to be taken from Ogilby who perhaps took it from others who had been more directly in touch with the Province, though much of Ogilby's account does not appear in any of the earlier books at Evergreen.

I shall not go into the religious charges and counter-charges that fill up so many of the early Maryland books, except to note, perhaps, what seem to me particularly interesting items, especially from the bibliographical viewpoint.

In 1688 James, the Catholic King, had fled his Kingdom and in the next year the Protestant William and Mary came to the throne and in that same year William Nuthead, the first printer in Maryland, printed at the City of St. Maries *The Declaration of the Reasons and Motives For the Present Appearing in Arms of Their Majesties Protestant Subjects in the Province of Maryland*. Nuthead's books have all disappeared, but this one was reprinted in London in the same year. It contains a good deal of the hyperbole—especially the religious hyperbole—of those days. The authors cite many grievances and punishments inflicted on them; the disloyalty of the Maryland government to the new King and Queen, and declare that they have taken up arms "to Preserve, Vindicate, and Assert, the Sovereign Dominion, and Rights, of King William and Queen Mary, to this Province."

John Burnyeat, "Eminent and Faithful Servant of Christ" made a visit in 1671 to 1673 to several of the English Colonies and spent some time in Maryland. A voluminous memorial of his life and services entitled: *The Truth Exalted* was got out in London in 1691. Burnyeat in the very beginning of his travels in Maryland had "a sore Exercise . . . with one Tho. Thurston, and a party he drew after him for a while, so that both I and faithful Friends were greatly grieved, not only with his Wickedness, but also his opposition. . . ." Truth prevailed and Thurston lost his following and became "a Vagabond and Fugitive . . ." This is the same Thurston so ably defended by Howgill in his *Deceiver of the Nations* before mentioned.

There is little of the country—chiefly accounts of meetings of Friends, some of them in company with George Fox who had come up from Jamaica. One day Fox preached to a gathering of Indians for five hours, "and they were very still and quiet, and very attentive, and delighted (as we did perceive) to hear."

Other contests in these seemingly unending Quaker-Puritan polemics appear later—this time between Francis Makemie and George Keith. Makemie in 1691 wrote a catechism which Keith the next year criticised. Makemie came back in 1694. His reply (published in Boston) is recommended in a preface by Increase and Cotton Mather and others. The notice to the readers is dated at "Rehoboth in Pocamok Maryland" and the book contains, besides Makemie's

Reply, a reprint of Keith's Criticism "Delivered to Mr. George Layfield At Pocamok in Mary-land."

Some years ago I came across a sheet entitled *A Discourse how to render the Plantations on the Continent of America, and Islands adjacent; more Beneficial and Advantageous to this Kingdom*. In an old handwriting it is endorsed: "Mr. Randolph's Paper of Naval Stores to be had in America, 1697." Its chief interest to us is an address, printed at the bottom of the second page, to the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, dated at St. Marys in Maryland, Oct. 21. 1694 and attested by Henry Denton, Cl. C.

This may be the first suggestion for the conservation of natural resources in Maryland for it is "Humbly propos'd, that the great Timber fit for His Majesty's Service growing upon His Majesty's Land not disposed of nigh the Navigable Rivers, in Virginia and Maryland, be preserved from Waste."

The Discourse recites the abundance of every kind of naval stores in the Colonies and the address from St. Marys calls upon their Lordships "please to give us one years notice to prepare, and please to propose to us such Methods of Dealing, and of Payment . . . as may encourage us to employ our Servants, in part to," provide the "Pitch, Tarr, Masts, Hemp, Pipe-staves and other things fit for His Majesty's Navy."

One of the few books published in Germany that may be included in this series is Francis Daniel Pastorius' *Umständige Geographische Beschreibung der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz Pensylvaniæ*—a geographical description of Pennsylvania, published in 1700 at Frankfort and Leipzig. It consists largely of a transcription of letters from various pastors and others in Pennsylvania to their friends abroad dealing for the most part with religious conditions. Maryland together with New Jersey and Virginia is mentioned as one of the "islands" or countries bordering on Pennsylvania.

There are only two more authors on my list: Thomas Bray and Joseph Wyeth. Bray was very prolific, and no less than twenty editions of his works printed before 1701 are known.

Dr. Bray was prominent enough to get his name both in the English *Dictionary of National Biography* and in the American *Dictionary of American Biography*, and also in a little account of him all his own entitled *Publick Spirit, Illustrated in the Life and Designs of the Reverend Thomas Bray, D. D.* brought out in London in 1746, sixteen years after his death. There is even to this day a Bray Society in London. His great work as far as we are concerned grew out of his inability, as the commissary of the Bishop of London

in Maryland, to find any but poor men, unable to buy books, as missionaries to Maryland, and he seems to have made the help of the bishops in providing libraries a condition of his going to the colony. No less than sixteen libraries—mainly of religious books—were established in Maryland, the first at Annapolis. He was without any extraordinary genius but as the *Dictionary of National Biography* says "his appeals are plain, forcible, and racy . . . and . . . produced more immediate practical results than those of greater divines have done."

He came to Maryland in 1700 and though he returned to England the following year, he never lost interest in the colony. Of his many books, the earliest in the Evergreen Library is probably the *Proposals For the Incouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations: and to induce such of the Clergy of this Kingdom, as are Persons of Sobriety and Abilities, to accept of a Mission into those Parts*, with which is printed *Means for Obtaining such Parochial Libraries*.

Of this short tract no less than eight type set-ups seem to have been printed between 1695 and 1698. Lawrence's letter is found with this tract and also, as in the Evergreen copy, with the *Parochialis*, which, at least in that copy, includes as well the *Proposals* itself. The *Proposals* also appear in the Evergreen copy of *Apostolick Charity*. All the *Proposals* at Evergreen differ from one another.

The *Bibliotheca Parochialis* is dated 1697, and with it, as just noted, are bound up also the: *Proposals for the Incouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations* and *The Conclusion, Shewing the Present State of the Protestant Religion in Maryland . . . taken from the Account of His Majesty's Secretary in that Province*. This was Sir Thomas Lawrence, and the copy in the John Carter Brown Library bears his name. *Bibliotheca Parochialis* was published "in hopes that falling into the Hands of such who are Piously dispos'd, they may be thereby wrought upon to contribute towards the promoting the two best Things in the World, Religion and Learning, in those Parts which are most uncultivated therewith, the American Plantations." It lays down for the pastors going to America at some length what every pastor should know and gives an immense catalogue of books "proper to be Read upon the several Points" laid down. Including the dedications and introduction these precepts and lists cover some 140 pages, of better printing than one usually finds in these books. In the *Proposals* Bray suggests explicit rules to be followed in the care and cataloguing of the books, amongst other things that "there be made

an exact Catalogue of the Books belonging to the Library of each Parish; and that every such Catalogue be fairly written in four Books of Vellum provided for that purpose." I do not know whether any of these vellum catalogues have been saved—if they were ever made—or indeed how many of the books sent to the Plantations as a result of Dr. Bray's tireless enthusiasm have come down to us. On every book on the one side of the cover, were to be lettered the name of the Parish to which the books belonged: "Ex . . . Bibliotheca de Mary-Town . . . or James-Town, etc." as the case might be.

As noted above there is also bound in with the *Parochialis, The Conclusion, Shewing the Present State of the Protestant Religion in Mary-Land*, which finds that all is going well there, especially since the arrival in August 1694 of the "most Worthy and Excellent Person *Francis Nicolson, Esq.*" as Governor. The Governor "is now building several Churches, besides one fine Church at Annopolis" and has provided for a "Free-School, already begun at Annopolis," which "is endowed with 100 l. *per Annum*, for the Maintenance of one Master and two Ushers, for the Instructing the Youth of the said Province in Arithmetick, Navigation, and all Useful Learning; but chiefly for the fitting such as are disposed to Study Divinity, to be farther Educated at his Majesty's College Royal in *Virginia*. . . ." The *Conclusion* ends: "if he who converteth a single Sinner from the Error of his ways, shall hide a multitude of sins, What abundant matter of Comfortable Reflection upon a Death-Bed shall that Person lay up, who shall Contribute towards providing of the most Proper and Genuine Means, next to the Divinely Inspired Writings, of Converting many poor Souls, not only in this, but in all future Generations, even *so long as the Sun and Moon endureth*."

Another volume of Bray's is his *Apostolick Charity* of which there were three editions in 1698, 1699 and 1700. The latter only is in the Evergreen Library. It opens with a long sermon "Preached at St. Paul's, at the Ordination of Some Protestant Missionaries to be sent into the Plantations, to which is Prefixt A General View of the English Colonies in America, with respect to Religion;" wherein Maryland is said to be provided with "30 Parishes, but meanly Endow'd . . . 16 Ministers and 16 Libraries." There is with this also "A Circular Letter to the Clergy of Mary-Land," giving much good advice.

A Short Account of the Several Kinds of Societies, set up of late Years, for carrying on the Reformation of Manners, and for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, also by Dr. Bray, requires little comment. It lauds the generous contributors and calls for more

and refers to the work not only in England and Wales but in the *Plantations beyond the Seas* with special reference to the books that were being supplied for the Catechetical and Lending Libraries.

Before finishing my paper with Bray's *Visitation*, I must refer to his letter of 1700 and to Wyeth's answer thereto. The letter is addressed to those who have contributed most particularly *towards the Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Plantations* and for the Destruction of the Powers of Darkness there. The General Assembly of Mary-Land having "most unanimously passed a Bill of the Highest Consequence for the Establishment of our Church" voted that Dr. Bray "should be desired . . . to favour that good Law, by obtaining His Majesty's Royal Assent." Besides agreeing to do this Bray goes into the need of new clergy to carry on the good work that is already being done especially in Maryland and Pennsylvania. He takes, as usual, a dig at the opposition. "The Quakers," he says, "are openly, and the Papists more covertly, making their utmost Efforts against the Establishment of our Church, by false Representations at home, of the Numbers and Riches of their Party; and by insinuating, That to impose upon them an Establish'd Maintenance for the Clergy, would be prejudicial to the Interest of the Province, by obliging so many wealthy Traders to remove from thence." This letter of Bray's, probably erroneously, is said to have been printed by Bradford in New York.

Bray's strictures called forth Wyeth's answer. Of his answer there are two issues, not varying much and both in this Library. Joseph Wyeth was a Quaker and it is easy to see from Dr. Bray's list of necessary books, if nowhere else, that Dr. Bray didn't like Quakers, for one of the sections of his Catalogue of books that every pastor should know is headed: "Against the Quakers" and includes among others such items as Leslie's *The Snake in the Grass, or Satan transformed into an Angel of Light, discovering the deep and unsuspected simplicity of many of the Principal Leaders of the Quakers*, and George Keith's several *Discourses*, "shewing how they (the Quakers) Allegorize away all the Principles of Christianity."

Wyeth's answer accuses Bray of "attempting to break the common Liberty of the People of Maryland, for the private Advantage of a few Clergy-men." He cites the law of Maryland of August 6, 1650, which declared and set forth "that no Person, or Persons, within this Province . . . shall, from henceforth, be in any ways troubled, molested or discountenanced . . . in respect of his or her Religion, nor in the free Exercise thereof." This, and the injustice of making men pay for an establishment in which they did not believe, forms

the basis of Wyeth's reply to Dr. Bray, though he goes into many pages of theological dispute where it is not necessary here to follow him.

We therefore come to the last of Bray's works published before 1701, his *Visitation . . . Held . . . at the Port of Annopolis on Thursday May 23. 1700*. I call it his last although it does not seem easy to put the half dozen or more of Bray's 1700 publications in strict chronological order. There are at least three different editions of the *Visitation*, two of which I have here, and bound with one of them are two other tracts: *A Memorial Representing the Present State of Religion on the Continent of North-America* and *A Circular Letter to the Clergy of Mary-Land, Subsequent to the Late Visitation*. The letter praises the "order of your Conferences, and the Unanimity of your Resolves." The *Memorial* is addressed to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and covers pretty nearly all the colonies, most of it, except for Maryland, based on hearsay, for Bray's *Visitation* did not extend beyond Maryland. "In Mary-land" Bray writes "through the Mercies of God, and after many Struggles with the Quakers, 'tis to be hop'd, we are in a fair way at last to have an *Established Church*."

The *Visitation* itself brought together fourteen rectors besides the Commissary at the Port of Annopolis on the 23rd of May, 1700. The account here printed consists of minutes of the three sessions that seem to have been held, largely devoted to the Commissary's charges and the Resolutions thereupon passed, though I expect that heartfelt discussions took place not here given in the minutes. They seem to have worked early and late—at least early—for we read at the end of the first session: "Adjourned till 5 next morning." Rules were agreed upon for Catechising, Public Preaching and Private Application, Comprising all the Parts of Ministerial Instruction. They then discussed means to prevent "Scandalous Ministers from Coming over, or at leastwise from Settling amongst you," particularly in regard to one "Mr. T.—" who was accused of having left his wife in England and of having married bigamously over here.

More than half of the seventeenth century books relating to Maryland remain to be brought here. Of many of these it will, in all probability, never be possible to get original copies. It seems to me that it would be very worth while to publish facsimiles of these rare tracts, as Mr. Baldwin did of the *Declaration*, so that eventually a student might find here all that he needed to make his studies complete.

There is annexed to this paper a list, as complete as I have been

able to make it (but not yet complete), of these seventeenth century books relating to Maryland. No attempt has been made in this list to include MSS not known to have been printed before 1701; maps other than those laid-in in printed books; atlases without text or articles from the newspapers of the day.

A CHECK-LIST OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BOOKS RELATING TO MARYLAND *

1612

- 1 SMITH, JOHN. *A Map of Virginia*. . . Oxford, 1612.
CSmH, DLC, ICN, MB (lacking map), MH, MWiW-C, MdBP, MiU-C (map only, in 1st state), N, NH_i (lacking last leaf and map), NN (2), NNMer, PPIU, RPJCB; BD, BM (2), EU, TCD; ASWR, DC, GA, GK, HVJ, JWJG.

1622

- 2 a WHITBOURNE, RICHARD. *A Discovrse and Discovery of Nevv-Found-Land*. . . London, 1622.

CSmH, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MWA, NH_i, NN, NNA, NNH, PU, RPJCB; BM.

- b ————— London, 1623.

CSmH, MB, MBat, NN (2); BM.

Two issues of this edition with variations in signature D, pp. 7-14. CSmH, NN have copy in which running heading is: pp. 8 & 14 "A Description of New-found-land," p. 10 "A Discourse of New-found-land." NN has copy in which running heading is: pp. 8, 10, 14 "A Discouery of New-found-land."

- 3 ————— *A Discourse containing a Loving Invitation*. . . London, 1622.

CSmH, DLC, MB, MH, MiU-C, NN, NNH, RPJCB; BM.

Some copies have at end the letters referring to Lord Baltimore's colony in Newfoundland, that form pp. 15 and 12 at the end of the 1622 and 1623 editions, respectively, of *A Discovrse and Discovery of Nevv-found-land*. This title is also printed as part of 2 a and 2 b.

1624

- 4 EBURNE, RICHARD. *A Plaine Path-VVay to Plantations*. London, 1624.

CSmH, DLC, MB, NN, RPJCB; HVJ.

- 5 a SMITH, JOHN. *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*. . . London, 1624.

CSmH, CtSoP, CtY, DLC, FTaSC, ICN, ICU, IHi, MWiW-C, MiU-C, N, NIC (imperfect), NN (5), NNC, NNMer, NhD, PEaL, PPL, RPJCB; BD (2), BM, EU, GU, JR; ASWR, GK (3), JWJG.

* This list does not include maps unless laid-in in printed books; manuscripts unless printed before 1701; or newspapers. Key to symbols will be found at end of list.

- b ————— London, 1625.

CSmH; AEN, HVJ.

- c ————— London, 1626.

CSmH, CtY, DLC, MH, MHi, NHi, NN, PPiU, RPJCB, WHi; BM, TCC; ASWR, GK, PD.

- d ————— London, 1627.

CSmH, ICN, MB, MWA, N, NHi (1 map only), NN, NNP, OCIW, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViW; JR; ASWR (2), DC, GA, GK (2).

- e ————— London, 1631.

RPJCB.

- f ————— London, 1632.

CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MA, MBAt, MH, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN (6), PBL, RPJCB, ScU, Vi; BM (2), TCD; ASWR, GK, HVJ, JWG.

Two issues of this edition with the 5th and 6th states of the engraved title; see Sabin 82829. 5th state: MH, NN, RPJCB. 6th state: CSmH, NN, RPJCB, GK, JWG and others.

1625

- 6 a [VAUGHAN, WILLIAM] *Cambrensiū Caroleia*. London, 1625.

CSmH; BD (imperfect), BM, WC.

- b ————— London, 1630.

CSmH.

1626

- 7 [VAUGHAN, WILLIAM] *The Golden Fleece*. . . London, 1626.

CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MWiW-C, N, NN, NjP, PHi, RHi, RPJCB; BD, BM (2), CU, TCC; DC, GA, JWG.

1628

- 8 H[AYMAN, R[OBERT] *Quodlibets, Lately Come Over from New Britaniola, Old New-found-land*. . . London, 1628.

CSmH, DLC, MiU-C, RPJCB; BD, BM; HVJ, JWG.

1630

- 9 VAUGHAN, WILLIAM. *The Newlanders Cvre*. London, 1630.

CSmH, MH, RPJCB; BM; JWG.

1632

- 10 a *The Charter of Mary-Land*. [London, 1632]

RPJCB; BHG, HVJ.

- b ————— [London, 1657]

RPJCB.

1633

- 11 *A Declaration of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Mary-land, nigh upon Virginia*. . . 1633.

AW.

1634

- 12 A Relation of The Succesfull beginnings of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-land. 1634.
RPJCB; BM.

1635

- 13 A Relation of Maryland. . . London, 1635.
CSmH, DLC, ICN, MH, MdHi (imperfect), MiU-C, N, NHi (imperfect), NIC, NN (2), RPJCB; BD (2), BM (2), JR; ASWR, JWG (2, 1 copy lacking map).
NN has variant copy with signature mark (D) lacking on last page of Charter (p. 25).

1641

- 14 EVELYN, ROBERT. A Direction For Adventvrers. . . [London] 1641.
CSmH.

1642

- 15 a LECHFORD, THOMAS. Plain Dealing: Or, Nevves From New-England. London, 1642.
CSmH, DLC, ICN, MB, MBC, MH, MWiW-C, MiU-C, N, NHi, NN, NNUT-Mc, PBL, PPL, PPIU, RPJCB, ViW; BM (3), BNP, EC, TCC; ASWR, JWG.
- b ——— New-Englands Advise to Old-England. [London] 1644.
CSmH, NN, RPJCB; BM; JWG.

1644

- 16 CASTELL, WILLIAM. A Short Discoverie Of the Coasts and Continent of America. . . London, 1644.
CSmH, CtSoP, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MWiW-C, MiU-C, N, NHi, NN, NNH, PBL, RPJCB; BD, BM (3), HG, TCC; ASWR, HVJ, JWG.

1646

- 17 A Moderate and Safe Expedient To remove Jealousies and Feares, of any danger, or prejudice to this State. . . 1646.
NNUT-Mc, RPJCB; ILS; JWG.

1648

- 18 a [PLANTAGENET, BEAUCHAMP] A Description of The Province of New Albion. 1648.
CSmH, ICN, MH, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, PPL, RPJCB; BD, BM, HG; ASWR, HVJ.
- b ——— ——— 1650.
CSmH, DLC.

1649

- 19 BULLOCK, WILLIAM. Virginia Impartially examined, and left to publick view. . . London, 1649.
CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MWiW-C, MiU-C, N, NHi, NN, RPJCB, Vi; BD, BM (3), BNP, CU, EU, HG, TCC, TCD; ASWR, DC, GA, JWG.

- 20 A Perfect Description of Virginia. . . London, 1649.
CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MA, MBAt, MH, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN,
PPL, RPJCB; BD, BM; ASWR.

1651

- 21 GARDYNER, GEORGE. A Description Of the New World. London,
1651.
CSmH, DLC, MB, MH, MWA (imperfect), MiU-C, NHi, NN, RPJCB;
BM (2); HVJ, JWG.

1653

- 22 The Lord Baltimore's Case, Concerning the Province of Maryland.
London, 1653.
NN; BM.

1655

- 23 Virginia and Maryland. Or, The Lord Baltimore's printed Case. . .
London, 1655.
CSmH, MH (imperfect), PHi, PPL; BM; JWG.
- 24 La Descente des Anglois en l'Isle Espagnole, avec ce qui s'est passé en
la Province de Mariland. . . [Paris, 1655]
JWG.
- 25 HEAMAN, ROGER. An Additional brief Narrative Of a late Bloody
Design Against The Protestants in Ann Arundel County, and
Severn, in Maryland. . . London, 1655.
BM.
- 26 HAMMOND, JOHN. Hammond versus Heamans. Or, An Answer To
an audacious Pamphlet. . . London [1655]
CSmH; BM.
- 27 STRONG, LEONARD. Babylon's Fall in Maryland: A fair Warning to
Lord Baltimore. [London] 1655.
CSmH, MBAt; BD, BM.
- 28 LANGFORD, JOHN. A just and cleere Refutation of a false and
scandalous Pamphlet. . . London, 1655.
CSmH, MBAt, MiU-C, N, RPJCB; BD, BM; HVJ, JWG.
- 29 a [PEAKE, THOMAS] America: or An exact Description of the West-
Indies. . . London, 1655.

3 issues of this edition with the following differences in title-page:

COPY A

5th line, 1st E in West-
Indies Roman capital, not
same as script italic type
2nd E.

Faithfully represented by
N. N. Gent.

Imprint: *London* in italics.

CtHWatk, DLC (Bd. in
2 v.), N, NHi, NN; BM;
JWG.

COPY B

5th line, 1st E like 2nd E,
script italic letter.

Faithfully represented by
N. N. Gent.

Imprint: London in Roman
type.

CSmH, CU-B, DLC, ICN,
MB, MH, NN, RPJCB;
EU.

COPY C

5th line, 1st E large Roman
capital like rest of West-
Indies.

Collected and faithfully
reported out of good
Authors, both forrein and
domestick, by N. N.

Imprint: London in Roman
type.

MWiW-C, NN.

Copies also at PHi; BD (3), NL, WL, but issue not determined.

- b ————— London, 1657.

NHi; BM, GU; JWG.

1656

- 30 HAMMOND, JOHN. Leah and Rachel, or, the Two Fruitfull Sisters Virginia, and Mary-Land. . . London, 1656.
CSmH, MH, MWiW-C, PPL, RPJCB; BM.

1657

- 31 GATFORD, LIONEL. Publick Good Without Private Interest. . . London, 1657.
ICN, MWA, NN, RPJCB, WHi.

1659

- 32 GORGES, FERDINANDO. America Painted to the Life. London, 1659.
CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBA^t, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, N, NHi, NN (2), PBL, RPJCB; BD, BM (3), EU, HG, TCD, WL; HVJ, JWG.

1660

- 33 For the King And both Houses of Parliament. For you (who have known Sufferings) now (in this the day of your prosperity) in the Fear and VVisdom of God, to read over and consider these Sufferings of the People of God in scorn called Quakers. . . London, 1660.
(Title on two leaves)
MB, MH, NNUT-Mc, RPJCB; BM.
- 34 a HOWGILL, FRANCIS. The Deceiver of the Nations Discovered: and his Cruelty Made Manifest. . . London, 1660.
DLC, ICN, MB, NN, RPJCB; FH; JWG.
- b ————— The Dawnings of the Gospel-Day. . . [London] 1676.
CtHWat^k, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MWA (imperfect), NN, NNUT-Mc, PHC, PPL, PSC-Hi, RPJCB, WHi, WaPS; BD, BM, BNP, CU, EU, FH, JR.
2nd edition of 34a pp. 372-382.

1661

- 35 BISHOP, GEORGE. New England Judged. . . London, 1661-67. 2v.
DLC, MH, NN, NNUT-Mc, PBL, RPJCB; JWG.
- 36 For The King And both Houses of Parliament. Being A Short Relation of the Sad Estate and Sufferings of the Innocent People of God, called Quakers. . . London, 1661.
DLC, MB, PHC.
- 37 MAYLINS, ROBERT. A Letter which was delivered to the King . . . from the Barbadoes. . . London, 1661.
DLC; FH.

1665

- 38 BLANDE, JOHN. To the Kings most Excellent Majesty, The humble Remonstrance of John Blande of London Merchant, on the behalf of the Inhabitants and Planters in Virginia and Mariland. . . [1665] BM.

1666

- 39 ALSOP, GEORGE. A Character Of the Province of Mary-Land. London, 1666.
CSmH, DLC, ICN, MH, MHi, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, PHi, RPJCB; BM.
- 40 [FOX, GEORGE] To Friends in Barbadoes, Virginia, Maryland, New-England, and elsewhere. [n. p., n. d.]
DLC.
Signed at end "G. F." and dated "London 29th of the 9th Month, 1666."
Reprinted in his *A Collection of many Select and Christian Epistles*. . . London, 1698. No. 94 in this list.

1669

- 41 SHRIGLEY, NATHANIEL. A True Relation of Virginia and Maryland. . . London, 1669.
CSmH, PPL, PU, RPJCB; BM; JWG.

1670

- 42 BLOME, RICHARD. A Geographical Description Of the Four Parts of the World Taken from the Notes & Workes Of the Famous Monsieur Sanson. . . London, 1670.
DAU, DLC, MH, MHi, MnHi, NN (2), NNC, NhD; AU, BD, BM, BNP, CU, EU, JR.

1671

- 43 COALE, JOSIAH. The Books and Divers Epistles of that Faithful Servant of the Lord Josiah Coale. . . [London] 1671.
CSmH, DLC, ICN, NN, NNUT-Mc, PHC, PSC-Hi, RPJCB.
- 44 a MERITON, GEORGE. A Geographical Description of the World. London, 1671.
IU, MiU, RPJCB; BD, CU.
- b ————— London, 1674.
CtY, IU, MiU, NcU; GA.
- c ————— London, 1679.
NN; BM, CU.
- 45 OGILBY, JOHN. America: being the latest, and most Accurate Description of the Nevv VVorld. . . London, 1671.
CSmH, CU-B, DLC, ICN, IaU, MB, MBAAt, MWA, MdAN, MdBP, MdHi, MiU-C, MnHi, N, NB, NHi, NIC, NN (2), NNC, NNH, NSchU, OCL, OFH, PBL, PHi, PPL, PPiU, RPJCB, Vi; BD (3), BM (3), BNP, CU, EU, LI, MC, NL, TCC, TCD, WL; GA, JWG.
MH and GU have date 1670 on title-page. See *Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library*, Providence, 1931, Vol. III, pp. 227-228, where a variant issue is also described.

1672

- 46 a BLOME, RICHARD. A Description Of the Island of Jamaica; With the other Isles and Territories in America. . . London, 1672.

CsMh, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, N, NHi, NN, NNH, PPIU, RPJCB; BD (3), BM (2), GU, TCD; JWG.

- b ————— London, 1678.

CsMh, DLC, ICN, IU, MBBC, MWiW-C, MiU-C, MnHi, NN, Phi, RPJCB; BD, BM, BNP, EU, GU; JWG.

French translation of this work: *Description de l'Isle de la Jamaïque Et de toutes celles que possèdent les Anglois dans l'Amérique*. (In Nos. 49 a and 49 b, Justel, Henri, ed. *Recueil De Divers Voyages* . . . Pt. V. Paris, 1674 and 1684)

1673

- 47 BLOME, RICHARD. Britannia: or, a Geographical Description of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the Isles and Territories thereto belonging. London, 1673.

CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICU, IU, MB, MH, MiU, MiU-C, NNC, NPV, OCL, PPL, TxU, WHi; BD (2), BM (2), BNP, CU, EU, GH, JR, NL, TCD.

- 48 MOXON, JOSEPH. The English Empire in America described in a Map. . . With pertinent Descriptions down the sides and under the Map. . . [London, 1673]

Entry from Arber, Edward. *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 A.D.* Vol. I, p. 141.

1674

- 49 a [JUSTEL, HENRI] ed. Recueil De Divers Voyages Faits En Afrique Et En L'Amérique. . . Paris, 1674.

CsMh, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NNH, OCL, PBL, PPL, RPJCB; BD, BM, EU, GU; JWG.

- b ————— Paris, 1684.

CsMh, DLC, NHi, NIC, NN, NNC, RPJCB; BM (2); DC.

For English version of Pt. V. see Nos. 46 a and 46 b.

- 50 [MERITON, GEORGE] Of the World and First of the Same in General. . . London, 1674.

NN.

1676

- 51 a DASSIÉ, F. Description Générale Des Costes De L'Amérique. . . Rouen, 1676.

MBAt, MWiW-C; BNP; DC.

- b ————— Rouen, 1677.

CsMh, DLC, ICN, RPJCB; BM; JWG

- c ————— Havre, 1680.

NN.

- d ————— Havre, 1691.

BD.

- 52 a SPEED, JOHN. The Theatre of the Empire of Great-Britain. . . London, 1676.

CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY (2), DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MWiW-C, N, NHi, NN, NNH, NhD, PPiU, RPJCB; BD, BM, CU (2), EU, GL, GU, JR, SA, TCC, TCD; DC, JWG.

- b ——— An Epitome of Mr. John Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain. . . London, 1676.

MiU-C, N, NHi, NIC, NcU, PHi; BD, BM.

1677

- 53 The Description of the Province of West-Jersey in America. London, 1677. with A Mapp of New Jersey in America by John Seller and William Fisher.

RPJCB.

1679

- 54 DANIEL, R. A new Map of the English Empire in America . . . with an accurate description of those Countries. . . [London, 1679]

Entry from Arber, Edward. *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 A. D.*, Vol. I, p. 372.

1680

- 55 CURWEN, ALICE. A Relation of the Labour, Travail and Suffering of that Faithful Servant of the Lord. . . [London] 1680.

MB, MH, PHC.

- 56 MORDEN, ROBERT. Geography rectified; or, A description of the world. . . London, 1680.

CtY, DLC, MiU-C, PPM, RPJCB.

- b ——— ——— London, 1688.

DLC, ICN, IU, NhD, PBL, PU, RPJCB, WHi; BM, CU, TCD.

- c ——— ——— London, 1693.

CSmH, DLC, MA, MB, NN, PPAmP, PPL, PPiU, RPJCB; BD, BM, CU, WL.

- d ——— ——— London, 1700.

CtY, DLC, ICU, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, RPJCB; BM.

1681

- 57 An Abstract, or Abbreviation Of some Few of the Many (Later and Former) Testimonys From the Inhabitants of New-Jersey. . . . London, 1681.

CSmH, RPJCB; BM; ASWR.

- 58 [ROCHEFORT, CHARLES de] Histoire Naturell et Morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique. . . Rotterdam, 1681.

CtHWatk, ICJ, ICN, ICU, MB, MBBC, MnH*i*, NHi, NN, NjP, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB; BD, BM, JR; DC.

Reissue of the edition of 1665 with supplement of 43 pages: *Récit de L'Estat Présent des Célèbres Colonies De la Virginie, de Marie-Land* . . . Rotterdam, 1681. This title is sometimes found separate as in PHi.

- 59 THORNTON, JOHN, and SELLER, JOHN, and PENN, WILLIAM. A Map of Some of the South and east bounds of Pennsylvania in America. . . London [1681]
PHi, RPJCB.
Four columns of text attached, afterwards issued with changes as Penn's *Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania*, 1681.

1682

- 60 CALVERT, PHILIP. A Letter From The Chancellour of Mary-Land, to Col. Henry Meese. . . Concerning the late Troubles in Mary-Land. [London, 1682]
BD, BM.
- 61 a VAREN, BERNHARD. Cosmography And Geography. . . London, 1682.
CSmH, DLC, NN.
- b ————— London, 1683.
DLC; BM.
- c ————— London, 1693.
DLC, MBA_t, MiU-C, N.

1683

- 62 A Brief Account of the Province of East=New=Jarsey in America. Edinburgh, 1683.
CSmH, ICN, NN, RPJCB; BM, EU.
- 63 a [FORD, PHILIP] A Vindication of William Penn, Proprietary of Pennsylvania, from the late Aspersions spread abroad on purpose to Defame him. [London, 1683]
CSmH, PHi; BD (2), BM (2), FH.
- b ————— A Vindication of William Penn, Proprietary of Pensilvania, from the late Aspersions spread abroad on purpose to Defame him. With an Abstract of several of his Letters since his Departure from England. [London, 1683]
JWG.
This is a new issue of 63 a with type reset and corrections in text. 63 a is dated at bottom of 2nd page: "London, 12th. 12th. Month, 1682/3." 63 b dated: "London, 12th. 12th. Month, 1683."

1685

- 64 a ATKINS, SAMUEL. Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense. Philadelphia, 1685.
ASWR.
- b ————— Philadelphia and New York, 1685.
PHi.
This issue distinguished by the addition of P. Richards, New York, to imprint.
- BURTON, ROBERT, *pseud.* See CROUCH, NATHANIEL.
- 65 a [CROUCH, NATHANIEL] The English Empire in America. . . London, 1685.
CSmH, ICN, MH, MiU, N, NN, NNC, RPJCB; BM; GA, JWG.

b ————— London, 1692.

CsMh, CtY, DLC, ICU; EC, TCC.

c ————— London, 1698.

MB, NN, NNC; BM, VAF.

d ————— Richardi Blome Englisches America. . . Leipzig, 1697.

DLC, IU, MiU, MWA, NNH, RPJCB; BM.

This work has been attributed to Richard Blome, but is a translation of *The English Empire in America*. The original German publisher confused the "R. B." (Robert Burton) by whom the preface was signed with Richard Blome.

66 [DANIEL, R.] A map of ye English empire in ye continent of America. . . [London, 1685?]

RPJCB.

Printed description on side and bottom margins has title: "A new description of the English empire in the continent of America."

67 a PENN, WILLIAM. A Further Account Of the Province of Pennsylvania and its Improvements. [London, 1685]

20 page issue: CsMh (2), DLC, MiU-C, NHi, PPIU, RPJCB; BM, FH (2); ASWR.

16 page issue: NN, RPJCB.

There are variant issues of the 20 page edition. CsMh has two and DLC one with different errata slips and corrections not agreeing.

b ————— Tweede Bericht ofte Relas Van William Penn. . . Amsterdam, 1685.

ICN, MWiW-C, RPJCB; BM, FH.

68 [SCOT, GEORGE] The Model of the Government of the Province of East-New-Jersey in America. . . Edinburgh, 1685.

1st issue: last paragraph on p. 37 begins "I find removal likewise allowable in case of persecution . . ."

ICN, N, NHi, NN, NjHi, PHi, RPJCB; AU, EU; JWG.

2nd issue: paragraph substituted for that above begins "Where people find themselves straitned in point of their opinion . . ."

CsMh, ICN, MH, MiU-C, NN; BM; ASWR.

69 SELLER, JOHN. An Almanack for the Provinces of Virginia & Maryland. . . [1685]

JWG.

70 THORNTON, JOHN, and MORDEN, ROBERT. A new Map of the English Empire in America . . . with a Description of the Countries. [London, 1685]

Entry from Arber, Edward. *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 A.D.* Vol. II, p. 126.

1687

71 a [BLOME, RICHARD] The Present State Of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America. . . London, 1687.

CsMh, CtSoP, DLC, ICN, ICU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWiW-C, N, NB, NHi, NIC, NN (2), NcU, PBL, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViW, WHi; BD, BM, GU, JR; HVJ, JWG.

- b ——— L'Amérique Angloise. . . Amsterdam, 1688.
CSmH, DLC, ICN, MH, MWA, N, NIC, NN, NNC, NNH, PHi, RPJCB;
BM, GU; JWG.
- 72 DURAND, of Dauphiné. Voyages d'un Francois, Exilé pour la Religion. . . The Hague, 1687.
DLC, RPJCB; BM (2); GA.

1688

- 73 WIDDERS, ROBERT. The Life and Death, Travels, and Sufferings of Robert Widders. . . (Also a relation of his Travels in Barbados, Virginia, Maryland, East and West Jersey. . .) London, 1688.
MH, PHC, RPJCB.

1689

- 74 The Address Of the Representatives of their Majestyes Protestant Subjects, in the Provinnce of Mary-Land. . . St. Maryes, 1689.
RO.
- 75 The Declaration of the Reasons and Motives For the Present Appearing in Arms of Their Majesties Protestant Subjects In the Province of Maryland. . . [St. Maries, 1689]
No copy recorded.
- b ——— London, 1689.
DLC, RPJCB; BD (3), BM, GH; JWG.
- 76 A Law of Maryland Concerning Religion. [1689]
2 issues: Black letter type: RO.
Roman type: NN; RO.
DLC has established date as 1689. One copy in RO endorsed "Recd from Lord Baltimore the 11th Jan. 1689-90." See Am. Hist. Assn. *Annual Report*, 1908, Vol. I, p. 429.
- 77 The Fair Traders Objections against the Bill, entituled, A Bill for preventing Clandestine Trading, as it related to the Plantations of Virginia and Maryland. [London, 168-?]
NN.

1690

- 78 a SELLER, JOHN. A New Systeme of Geography. . . [London] 1690.
CtY, DLC, PPIU; BD.
- b ——— [London] 1694.
CtY, DLC; CU.

1691

- 79 BURNYEAT, JOHN. The Truth Exalted in the Writings of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Christ. . . London, 1691.
CSmH, CtHWatk, CtSoP, CtY, DLC, ICU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, N, NHi, NN, NNUT-Mc, PBL, PHC, PP, PPL, PSC-Hi, RPJCB, TxU; BD, BM, FH; JWG.

1692

- 80 [BUDD, THOMAS] A brief Answer to two Papers procured from Friends in Maryland. . . [Philadelphia, 1692]
CSmH, DLC; FH.
- 81 DITTELBAUGH, PETRUS. Verval en Val Der Labadisten, of Derselver Leydinge . . . alsook haren op-en nedergang, in hare Coloniën of volk-plantingen. . . Amsterdam, 1692.
DLC.
- 82 a KEITH, GEORGE. The False Judgment of a Yearly Meeting of Quakers in Maryland, condemned by George Keith, Thomas Budd, and other Quakers. . . [Philadelphia, 1692]
Entry from Hildeburn, Charles R. . . *The Issues of the Press of Pennsylvania, 1685-1784*.
- b ——— More Divisions amongst the Quakers. . . II. The false Judgment of a yearly Meeting of Quakers in Maryland. . . [London] 1693.
CSmH, DLC, NN, RPJCB; BM.
- 83 [KEITH, GEORGE, and BUDD, THOMAS] False Judgments Reprehended . . . containing the false Judgment of a Faction of men, calling themselves the Yearly-Meeting at Tredaven in Maryland. . . [Philadelphia, 1692]
DLC, PHi.

1694

- 84 [CONEY, PEREGRINE. A Sermon preached before His Excellency and both Houses of Assembly of Maryland. . . St. Mary's City, 1694]
No copy recorded. Wroth No. 3.
- 85 FOX, GEORGE. A Journal or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings. . . London, 1694.
Issue with middle paragraph on recto Qqq¹ 27 lines: CtHWatk, DLC, IU, MB, MnU, N, NIC, NN, PHC, PPFRG, PPM, PSC-Hi, RPJCB; BM, FH (5), JR, TCC, TCD.
Issue with middle paragraph on recto Qqq¹ 22 lines: MH, MWA, NhD, PHC, PPL; FH, TCC.
Copies also at NNUT-Mc; BD, CU, but issue not determined.
- 86 MAKEMIE, FRANCIS. An Answer To George Keith's Libel. . . Boston, 1694.
MHi, NN, RPJCB; JWG.

1695

- 87 a BRAY, THOMAS. [Proposals for the Incouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations. . . London, December, 1695] (Half sheet edition)
- b ——— [London, December, 1695] (Whole sheet edition)
- c ——— [London, January, 1696]

- d ———— Proposals for the Incouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations. . . [London, October, 1696]
RPJCB.
Contains the "design" of *seven* "proposals," and the "Means of Obtaining such Parochial Libraries," signed by *two* archbishops and *three* bishops, pp. 1-2; "The Present State of the Protestant Religion in Maryland" signed by Thomas Lawrence, pp. 3-4.
- e(1) ———— [London, January, 1697]
BM.
Contains the "design" of *six* "proposals" and the "Means of Obtaining such Parochial Libraries," signed by *two* archbishops, and *four* bishops, pp. 1-2; "The Present State of the Protestant Religion in Maryland" without Lawrence's signature, pp. 3-4.
- e(2) ———— Proposals For the Encouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations. . . [London, 1697]
CSmH, RPJCB.
Another issue with same characteristics as e(1) but largely reset with minor changes.
- f ———— [London, August, 1697]
RPJCB; SiC.
Contains the "design" of *six* "proposals" and the "Means of Obtaining such Parochial Libraries," signed by *two* archbishops and *five* bishops, pp. 1-2; "The Present State of the Protestant Religion in Maryland" without Lawrence's signature, pp. 3-4.
- g ———— [London, January, 1698]
Not identified. The design probably approved by some number of bishops between the five of the entry above and the fifteen appended to it in *Apostolick Charity*, 1699.
- h ———— Proposals for the Incouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations. . . (In his *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, London, 1697, pp. 121-130)
Includes Lawrence's "The Present State . . ."
- i ———— Proposals for the Encouragement and Promoting of Religion. . . (In his *Apostolick Charity* . . . , London, 1699 and 1700)
This tentative list of editions was compiled, by Mr. Wroth, from "An account of Charges in printing Proposals" in the manuscripts of Dr. Bray's Associates in S. P. G., London, transcript in Library of Congress, and from copies of Nos. 87 d, e(2) and f in the John Carter Brown Library.
- 88 Further Reasons for Inlarging the Trade to Russia, Humbly offer'd by the Merchants and Planters Trading to, and Interested in the Plantations of Virginia and Maryland. [London, 1695?]
BM.

1696

- 89 [CONEY, PEREGRINE. A Sermon preached before His Excellency and both Houses of Assembly. . . Annapolis, 1696]
No copy recorded. Wroth No. 4.

1697

- 90 BRAY, THOMAS. *Bibliotheca Parochialis*. . . London, 1697.
CSmH, DLC, MB, MBAt, MdHi, N, NHi, PHi, RPJCB; BD, BM (2), EU, GU; JWG.
- 91 BRAY, THOMAS. *An Essay Towards Promoting all Necessary and Useful Knowledge, Both Divine and Human*. . . London, 1697.
MBAt, MdHi, NHi, NN, NNUT-Mc, PBL, RPJCB; BD, BM, CU, EC, GH, TCD.
NN has variant issue with 11 lines of text on 1st page of preface instead of 15.
- 92 *A Discourse how to render the Plantations on the Continent of America . . . more Beneficial and Advantagious to this Kingdom*.
[London, 1697]
JWG.

1698

- 92 a BRAY, THOMAS. *Apostolick Charity*. . . London, 1698.
CSmH, DLC, MdHi, NN, RPJCB; TCD.
- b ———— London, 1699.
CSmH, MB, MBAt, MiU-C, NIC, NcU, RPJCB; BD, BM (mutilated)
Includes the *Proposals*.
- c ———— London, 1700.
Issue with signature D² misprinted C²: CSmH, N, RPJCB; TCC.
Issue with signature D² correctly marked: CtY, DLC, MH, MSaE, NN; BM, TCC; JWG.
Includes the *Proposals*.
- 94 FOX, GEORGE. *A Collection of many Select and Christian Epistles, Letters and Testimonies*. . . [London] 1698.
CU, DLC, PHC, RPJCB.
- 95 SLOANE, HANS. *An Account of the Tongue of a Pastinaca Marina, frequent in the Seas about Jamaica, and lately dug up in Mary-Land, and England*. (In *Philosophical Transactions*, London, 1698, v. 19, pp. 674-676)
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- 96 THOMAS, GABRIEL. *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania; and of West-New-Jersey in America*. . . London, 1698.
CSmH, CtHWatK, CtSoP, DLC, ICN, IU, MBAt, MH, MWiW-C, MdBP, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, NjR, OFH, PGL-Hi, PHi, PNorthi, PP, PPAmP, PPFranki, PPL, PPG, PPPrHi, PPiHi, PPIU, RPJCB; BM, FH, NL, TCC; ASWR, HVJ.

1699

- 97 PETIVER, JAMES, and JONES, HUGH. *Remarks by Mr. James Petiver . . . on some Animals, Plants, &c. sent to him from Maryland, by the Reverend Mr. Hugh Jones*. (In *Philosophical Transactions*, London, 1699, v. 20, pp. 393-406)
CSmH, DLC, MB, NNE.

1700

- 98 [An Act for the Service of Almighty God and Establishment of Religion in this Province According to the Church of England. Annapolis, 1700]

No copy recorded. Wroth No. 6.

- 99 BRAY, THOMAS. *The Acts of Dr. Bray's Visitation*. . . London, 1700.
There are three issues of this work. Dr. Lydenberg notes the following differences in the title-page:

<i>COPY A</i> (Harper)	<i>COPY B</i> (NN)	<i>COPY C</i> (Kane)
VISITATION, HELD . . . MARY-LAND, (4 lines)	VISITATION. HELD . . . MARY-LAND, (4 lines)	VISITATION. Held . . . Mary-Land, (2 lines)
William Downing (double rule above imprint)	W. Downing (single rule above imprint)	W. Downing (double rule above imprint)
BM, SiC; JWG.	CSmH, DLC, MH, MdHi N, NIC, NN, RPJCB; BD, BM; JWG.	MB; BM; GK.

Copy also at NL, but issue not determined.

- 100 BRAY, THOMAS. *A Circular Letter To the Clergy of Mary-Land, Subsequent to the late Visitation*. [1700]
MH, RPJCB; BD, BM; JWG.
- 101 BRAY, THOMAS. *A Letter From Dr. Bray, to such as have Contributed towards the Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Plantations*. [1700]
CSmH, MH, PHi; SiC; JWG.
This has been attributed to William Bradford, New York, 1700.
- 102 WYETH, JOSEPH. *An Answer to a Letter from Dr. Bray, Directed to such as have contributed towards the Propagating Christian Knowledge*. . . London, 1700.
Two issues: Title page not reset except for author's name and imprint. In Copy "A" imprint reads: London, Printed and Sold by T. Sowle, in White-Hart-Court, in | Gracious-street, 1700. |; Copy "B": LONDON, Printed and Sold by T. Sowle in White-|Hart-Court in Gracious-street 1700. | In Copy "A" A² incorrectly marked B². Copy "B" pages 1-8 reset; pages 9-19 identical with Copy "A."
COPY A: DLC, NN, PHC; FH; JWG.
COPY B: MB, MiU-C, NHi, NIC, RPJCB; BM, FH; JWG.
- 103 BRAY, THOMAS. *A Memorial, Representing the Present State of Religion on the Continent of North-America*. London, 1700.
CSmH, MB, N, NN, NcU, RPJCB; BD, BM (2), CU, NL; JWG.
- 104 BRAY, THOMAS. *The Necessity of an Early Religion*. . . Annapolis, 1700.
MdHi.
- 105 BRAY, THOMAS. *A Short Account of the Several Kinds of Societies set up of late Years . . . for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge*. London, 1700.
JWG.

- 106 [A Complete Body of the Laws of Maryland. Annapolis, 1700]
DLC (imperfect).
- 107 His Excellency's Speech, to the Honourable the General Assembly . . .
[and] The General Assembly's Answer to his Excellency's Speech. . .
1700.
NHi.
Dated: "Maryland, April the 26th. Anno Domini 1700."
- 108 JONES, HUGH. Part of a Letter from the Reverend Mr. Hugh Jones
to the Reverend Dr. Benjamin Woodroffe . . . concerning several
Observables in Maryland. (In *Philosophical Transactions*, London,
1700, v. 21, pp. 436-442)
CSmH, DLC, MB, NNE.
- 109 PASTORIUS, FRANCIS DANIEL. Umständige Geographische Beschreibung
Der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz Pensylvaniae. . . Frankfort,
1700.
DLC, PPG, RPJCB; JWG.

REFERENCES

AMERICAN LIBRARIES

Symbols used by the Union Catalog of the Library of Congress

CSmH	Henry Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
CU	University of California, Berkeley, California.
CU-B	——— Bancroft Library.
CtHWatk	Watkinson Library, Hartford, Connecticut.
CtSoP	Pequot Library, Southport, Connecticut.
CtY	Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
DAU	American University, Washington, D. C.
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
FTaSC	Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, Fla.
ICJ	John Crerar Library, Chicago, Ill.
ICN	Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
ICU	University of Chicago Library, Chicago, Ill.
IHi	Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Ill.
IU	University of Illinois Library, Urbana, Ill.
IaU	University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
MA	Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
MB	Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.
MBA _t	Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Mass.
MBBC	Boston College Library, Boston, Mass.
MBC	Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.
MH	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.
MSaE	Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
MWA	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
MWiW-C	Chapin Collection, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
MdAN	U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.
MdB _P	Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Md.
MdHi	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.
MiU	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
MiU-C	——— William Clements Library.
MnHi	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.
N	New York State Library, Albany, N. Y.

NB	Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn, N. Y.
NHi	New York Historical Society, New York, N. Y.
NIC	Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
NN	New York Public Library, New York, N. Y.
NNA	American Geographical Society, New York, N. Y.
NNC	Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
NNE	Engineering Societies' Library, New York, N. Y.
NNH	Hispanic Society, New York, N. Y.
NNMer	Mercantile Library, New York, N. Y.
NNP	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N. Y.
NNUT-Mc	McAlpin Collection, Union Theological Seminary, N. Y.
NPV	Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
NSchU	Union University, Schenectady, N. Y.
NcU	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
NhD	Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
NjHi	New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N. J.
NjN	Newark Public Library, Newark, N. J.
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
NjR	Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J.
OCI	Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio.
OCIW	Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.
OFH	Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio.
PBL	Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa.
PEaL	Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
PGL-Hi	Lutheran Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pa.
PHC	Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
PNortHi	Historical Society of Montgomery Co., Norristown, Pa.
PP	Free Library, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPAN	Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPAmP	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPFrG	Friends Free Library, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPFrankI	Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPG	German Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPL	Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPM	Mercantile Library, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPPrHi	Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPiHi	Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa.
PPiU	University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
PSC-Hi	Swarthmore College, Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.
PU	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
RHi	Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R. I.
RPJCB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.
ScU	University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.
TxU	University of Texas, Austin, Texas.
Vi	Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.
ViW	William & Mary College, Williamsburg, Va.
WHi	State Historical Society, Madison, Wis.
WaPS	Washington State College, Pullman, Wash.

FOREIGN LIBRARIES

AU	Aberdeen University, Aberdeen, Scotland.
AW	Archbishop of Westminster, London, England.
BD	Bodleian Library, Oxford, England.
BM	British Museum, London, England.
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France.
CU	Cambridge University, Cambridge, England.
EC	Emmanuel College, Cambridge, England.
EU	Edinburgh University, Edinburgh, Scotland.
FH	Friends House, London, England.
GH	Guildhall, London, England.

GU	Göttingen University, Göttingen, Germany.
HG	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Scotland.
ILS	Incorporated Law Society (Mendham College), London, England.
JR	John Rylands Library, Manchester, England.
LI	Lincoln's Inn, London, England.
MC	Magdalen College, Oxford, England.
NL	National Library of Scotland (Advocates Library), Edinburgh, Scotland.
RO	Public Record Office, London, England.
SA	Society of Antiquarians, London, England.
SiC	Sion College, London, England.
StC	Stonyhurst College, Stonyhurst, England.
TCC	Trinity College, Cambridge, England.
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin, Eire.
VAF	Victoria & Albert Museum (Forster Collection), London, England.
WC	Winchester College, Winchester, England.
WL	Dr. Williams Library, London, England.

PRIVATE LIBRARIES

AEN	A. E. Newton, Philadelphia, Pa.
ASWR	A. S. W. Rosenbach, Philadelphia, Pa.
BHG	Benjamin H. Griswold, Jr., Baltimore, Md.
DC	Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth, Bakewell, England.
GA	George Arents, Jr., New York, N. Y.
GK	Grenville Kane, Tuxedo Park, N. Y.
HVJ	Hershel V. Jones, Minneapolis, Minn.
JWG	John W. Garrett, Baltimore, Md.
PD	Preston Davie, New York, N. Y.

A LETTER FROM SAMUEL MORSE, THE INVENTOR
OF THE TELEGRAPH

The letter printed below was found recently in the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, among the papers of the Adjutant General's office. It seems to be of sufficient importance and interest to the people of Maryland, and to the country at large, to be published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON, *Archivist*.

Baltimore Oct. 19.th 1843.

To His Excellency

Francis Thomas Governor of Maryland—

Sir,

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that I am about to commence laying down my conductors for the Electro-Magnetic Telegraph between this city and Washington, on the line of the Washington & Baltimore Rail Road.

The rail road Company have generously extended to me every desirable facility, but to complete my arrangements for passing and repassing on the line of the Rail Road in the cars of the Company, (as I shall have frequent occasion to do with my assistants,) I am informed that it is necessary to obtain the permit of the Governor in order to protect the Rail Road Company from accountability to the State for a proportional part of the passenger fare between the two cities, which would belong to the State.

As the Telegraph is designed to be a most important and valuable auxiliary to the Rail Road I presume your Excellency will appreciate the policy of granting every facility on the part of the State of Maryland which can be consistently given to this enterprize, and in conjunction with the Rail Road Company afford to myself and my Assistants such *free conveyance* on the Road as may be found convenient to us during the progress of the work.

An early decision, as your Excellency's convenience will admit of will confer a favor upon me.

An answer directed to me care of D. Burbank 14 Commerce Street Baltimore will reach me.

With great respect

Y. Mo. OB. Sert.

(Signed) Sam.^l F. B. Morse

TCHAIKOWSKY'S VISIT TO BALTIMORE

By JAMES MORFIT MULLEN

Peter Ilyich Tchaikowsky (the name is spelt in various ways) conducted two numbers of a concert in Baltimore on Friday, May 15, 1891. This unusual musical event was described in a half column in the Baltimore *Sun* of May 16, 1891. At that time, only the morning *Sun* shone for public enlightenment. There was no *Evening* nor any *Sunday Sun*. There was also an entire absence of pictures, and a total lack of startling captions.

The account hailed the event under the following headlines:

GREAT TSCHAIKOWSKY

ONE OF THE MASTER COMPOSERS OF
THE PRESENT AGE.
RUSSIA'S FAMOUS MUSICIAN HERE.

ALSO THE CELEBRATED ADELE AUS-DER-OHB.
AN ENTHUSIASTIC AUDIENCE AT THE LYCEUM.
ENTERTAINED AT DINNER BY MR. KNABE.
SKETCH OF THE COMPOSER.

The article begins with this statement:

A small part of musical Baltimore wended its way in the rain *Tschaikowsky-ward* yesterday afternoon and enjoyed one of the greatest treats that have been given to music-loving people this season. The audience at the Lyceum was not large, but it was a good audience at that. . . .

Note the reportorial euphuism in describing the trend of musical Baltimoreans as "Tschaikowsky-ward." The concert was held at 2 o'clock in the afternoon at the Lyceum Theatre on Charles Street. The Lyceum is now replaced by an open-air automobile parking station. The attendance at the concert was small. The inference from the *Sun's* account is that the lack of interest was due to a heavy rain, but it is undoubtedly a fact that Baltimoreans in 1891 were not as "music-conscious" as they now are.

The musicians were the Boston Festival Orchestra. The Tchaikowsky part of the concert consisted of two numbers. One was a piano concerto in B Flat Minor, in which Miss Adele Aus-Der-Ohe was the soloist. The second was a suite for string orchestra, which the account described as a "delightful combination of dance

rhythms." This description would seem to indicate Tchaikowsky's "Nutcracker Suite"; but, from other accounts, it is clear that he conducted his Serenade for String Orchestra in Four Movements. This was first performed in Moscow in January, 1882.

An interesting fact in connection with this great musical event is that during the remaining part of the concert the orchestra was conducted by Victor Herbert, but his presence evidently evoked little interest, because the *Sun's* account states:

It would have been far more satisfactory, however, if the afternoon had been devoted only to Tschaikowsky instead of introducing a bunch of scrappy selections.

It is enlightening to follow up the *Sun's* description of the occasion by Tchaikowsky's revealing diary. On this, Tchaikowsky's only visit to America, he came with great reluctance, and left with considerable eagerness. He was in this country from April 27th to May 21st, and altogether gave six concerts, four in New York, one in Baltimore and one in Philadelphia. He tried to escape the Baltimore and Philadelphia visits, but did not succeed. He described his trip down to Baltimore, evidently in a Pullman sleeper, as follows:

Then began an endlessly long dinner. . . . At ten o'clock I withdrew. At home a messenger from Knabe was waiting for me. We drank a glass of beer together, took my trunk, and went down town. We went over the Hudson in the steam ferry, and finally reached the station. Knabe's messenger (without whose help I should certainly have been lost) engaged a comfortable coupé for me; the friendly negro made the bed, I threw myself on it just as I was, for I really had not the strength to undress, and sank at once into a deep sleep. I slept soundly, but not for long. The negro woke me an hour before my arrival at Baltimore.

After leaving Baltimore, he went to Washington, evidently only for a visit, as he gave no concert there. While in Washington, he noted in his diary: "Baltimore is a pretty, clean town."

His account of his Baltimore visit is the following from his diary:

Baltimore, May 3rd (15th)

As usual, I was received at the hotel with cool contempt. Sitting alone in my room, I suddenly felt so unhappy, chiefly because everyone around me speaks only English. I slept a little. Then I went into a restaurant for breakfast, and was quite annoyed because the waiter (a negro) would not understand that I wished for tea and bread-and-butter only. I had to go to the desk, where they did not understand me any better. At last a gentleman knowing a little German kindly came to my help. I had hardly sat down when Knabe, a stout man, came in. Very shortly after, Adele Aus-der-Ohe and her sister joined us, too. I was very glad to see them, for they seem

like connections, at least as regards music. We went to the rehearsal together. This was held on the stage of the Lyceum Theatre. The orchestra was small, only four first violins, but not bad. But the Third Suite was not to be thought of. It was decided to put the Serenade for strings in its place. The orchestra did not know this work. The conductor had not even played it through, although Reno had promised that this should be done. The Concerto with Adele Aus-der-Ohe went very smoothly, but the Serenade needs many rehearsals. The orchestra was impatient. The young leader behaved in rather a tactless way, and made it too clearly evident that he thought it time to stop. It is true—this unhappy touring orchestra must be wearied by their constant travelling. After the rehearsal I went home with Adele Aus-der-Ohe, dressed, and went immediately to the concert. I conducted in my frock coat. Happily everything went very well, but there was little enthusiasm in comparison with New York. After the concert we both drove home to change. Half an hour later Knabe called for us. His hospitality is on the same colossal scale as his figure. This beardless giant had arranged a festivity in my honour at his own house. I found a number of people there. The dinner was endlessly long, but very tasteful and good, as were also the wines with which Knabe kept filling up our glasses. During the second half of the dinner I felt quite worn out. A terrible hatred of everything seemed to come over me, especially of my two neighbours. After dinner I conversed a little with everyone, and smoked and drank ceaselessly. At half-past twelve Knabe brought me home, and also the sisters Aus-der-Ohe.

Our curiosity about Adele Aus-der-Ohe is satisfied by Tchaikowsky's diary entry about her as follows:

Four years ago she obtained an engagement at one of the Symphony Concerts to play a Concerto by Liszt (she was one of his pupils) and came over without a penny in her pocket. Her playing took with the public. She was engaged everywhere, and was a complete success. During these four years she has toured all over America, and now possesses a capital of over 20,000 pounds!!!

It appears from the *Sun's* account that Mr. Edward Knabe entertained Tchaikowsky at dinner at night. Mr. Knabe, of course, was the great piano manufacturer and was a patron of the arts. His guests at the dinner were listed in the *Sun's* account as follows: Asger Hamerik, B. Courlaender, Harold Randolph, Miss Sophie Fernow, S. Monroe Fabian, Richard Burmeister, Fritz Fincke.

Mr. Hamerik was then Director of the Peabody Conservatory. Mr. Randolph succeeded Mr. Hamerik in this office. Messrs. Courlaender, Fabian, Burmeister and Fincke were all musicians and teachers at the Peabody. The author has not been able to identify Miss Fernow, and she is not listed in the city directories of that time.

Tchaikowsky's views of America in the Gay Nineties, as expressed in his diary describing his visits to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington and Niagara Falls, are teeming with interest.

He saw a great deal of Andrew Carnegie, who regaled him with dinners, and apparently large quantities of champagne. He was impressed with Mr. Carnegie's fortune, which he referred to, variously, as \$30,000,000 and \$40,000,000. The following is his very interesting account of Mr. Carnegie:

This singular man, Carnegie, who rapidly rose from a telegraph apprentice to be one of the richest men in America, while still remaining quite simple, inspires me with unusual confidence, perhaps because he shows me so much sympathy. During the evening he expressed his liking for me in a very marked manner. He took both my hands in his, and declared that, though not crowned, I was a genuine king of music. He embraced me (without kissing me; men do not kiss over here), got on tiptoe and stretched his hand up to indicate my greatness, and finally made the whole company laugh by imitating my conducting. This he did so solemnly, so well and so like me, that I myself was quite delighted.

He was charmed with American hospitality, particularly that what was done for him was not, as he then thought, inspired by the Parisian idea of self-interest. In his diary, he refers to us as follows:

New York, American customs, American hospitality—all their comforts and arrangements—everything, in fact, is to my taste. If only I were younger I should very much enjoy my visit to this interesting and youthful country. But now, I just tolerate everything as if it were a slight punishment mitigated by many pleasant things. All my thoughts, all my aspirations, tend towards Home, Home!!! I am convinced that I am ten times more famous in America than in Europe. At first, when others spoke about it to me, I thought it was only their exaggerated amiability. But now I see that it really is so. Several of my works, which are unknown even in Moscow, are frequently played here. I am a much more important person here than in Russia. Is not that curious?

Evidently American alcoholic hypocrisy was then extant, as Tchaikowsky in his diary had the following to say about the liquor situation in New York in 1891:

All the cafés are closed on Sundays. This English Puritanism, which shows itself in such senseless trivialities (for instance, one can only obtain a glass of whiskey or beer on Sunday by means of some fraud) irritates me very much. It is said that the men who brought this law into force in the State of New York were themselves heavy drinkers.

He also had an experience with a piano-forte manufacturer (called Z by him) which makes it clear that the present American custom of securing testimonials from society matrons, artists, athletes, actresses and other persons in the public eye, without adequate regard for the merit of the article written about, was in vogue in 1891. Mr. Z

was constantly attentive to Tchaikowsky. Finally, Mr. Z requested Tchaikowsky to sign a statement that he considered the Z "piano-fortes without doubt the best in America." Tchaikowsky, George Washington-like, said: "I told Z that notwithstanding my deep gratitude to him, I could not tell a lie."

Tchaikowsky's life was, to say the least, an unusual one. At the time of his visit to Baltimore, he was 51 years of age. He died two years later, when he was at the height of his career, judging from the composition of his Symphony No. 6, immediately preceding his death. This Symphony was played in Baltimore last December by the National Symphony Orchestra, when it was received with greater applause than was given Mischa Elman's rendition, the same night, of a Beethoven Concerto. It was again given here March 5 in the all-Tchaikowsky concert of the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra.

The account of Tchaikowsky's concert in the morning *Sun* emphasizes the warmth of his reception by the small Baltimore audience. After his second rendition he was recalled again and again. This is noteworthy, because Tchaikowsky had great difficulty in any kind of public appearance. It is said that when he first attempted to conduct an orchestra, his stage fright was so great that he "conducted with one hand on his chin, so his head would not fall off."

SHIPS AND SHIPPING OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND

By V. J. WYCKOFF

St. John's College

(Continued from Vol. XXXIII, page 342.)

1634-1674

Shipping in Maryland, 1634-1649. The first reference to ship-building in Maryland somewhat antedated 1634 because it concerned the activities on Kent Island under William Claiborne, who for half a century was gratuitously cast in the role of villain in the various acts of the Maryland settlers, and a stout part he played! Upon the suggestion of Captain John Smith, encouraged by the Virginian governor and authorized by a license (May 16, 1631), from Charles I, Claiborne established a trading post on the Island.²⁶ A number of boats were built there during Claiborne's administration, the first being the *Long Tayle*, a pinnace. The "necessaries for a boate of 3. or 4. Tunne; as Spikes, Nayles, Pitch, Tarre, Ocome, Canvis for a sayle, Ropes, Anchor, Iron for the Ruther" if not already in the storehouse of the trading post had to come from Virginia or directly from England.²⁷ "The boat was equipped with both sails and oars. The sails were made of poldavis, a kind of coarse canvas, or sacking, then used by the English navy. The craft which could carry twenty passengers, flew 'an ancient' or flag, and had several 'little boats' as tenders [and] was also equipped with a lamp, quadrant, compass and 'eighteen fathome of sounding line.'" ²⁸

Necessarily the first ships which entered Maryland as a province were the *Ark* and the *Dove*. They were dispatched by Lord Baltimore in 1633, left the Cowes in the Isle of Wight on November 22, and entered the waters of the Potomac March 5, 1634.²⁹ The *Ark* was a vessel of considerable size with a burden of 300-400 tons and the *Dove* was a pinnace of about 50 tons.³⁰ There was a crew of 40 men

²⁶ *Archives*, III, 19-20; V, 158-162.

²⁷ "A Relation of Maryland, 1635" in *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684*, ed. by Clayton C. Hall, New York, 1910, p. 98.

²⁸ Raphael Semmes, *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland*, Baltimore, 1937, pp. 73-74.

²⁹ Hall, *Narratives*, p. 71.

³⁰ The burden of 300 tons for the *Ark* was given in the "Relation" of 1635; Father White's "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland, 1634," gave 400 tons and described the ship as "strong as could be made of oake and iron, . . . kingbuilt: making faire weather in great stormes." *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 70. Another reference placed the burden at 350 tons, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1633-1634, p. 160 (hereafter cited as *C. D. P.*). There was general agreement about the size of the *Dove*.

to handle the larger vessel and about 6 for the pinnace. For the number of passengers there was a wide range of reports; the most frequent number was 200 of whom 20 were "gentlemen."³¹

In those early archives there were also mentioned several other vessels. The Pilgrims had put together a shallop from pieces brought over with them. The Maryland settlers had equal foresight but preferred a barge which was assembled once they had anchored near St. Clements Island; it was then taken by the "Governor . . . as most fit to search the Creekes, and small rivers."³² There was also a shallop, probably a tender for the *Ark*, which, loaded with clothes to be washed on shore, overturned on its short trip from the anchored mother vessel with a loss of many pieces of linen which could hardly be spared. There was mentioned another pinnace besides the *Dove*, a boat possibly rented from Virginia, and Captain Fleet arrived with his three barks to add to the total.³³ The "Relation" of 1635 observed that "the timber of these parts is very good, and in abundance, it is usefull for building of houses, and shippes." But artisans were scarce, so adventurers were advised that for a choice of servants "a Carpenter, of all others the most necessary; a Millwright, Ship-wright, Boate-wright, . . ."³⁴

From now on for about a half-century information about the quantity of shipping in Maryland was most meager. Rather surprising, because in patenting land those acres were first chosen which had water frontage for the convenience of handling tobacco, English merchandise as well as personal transportation. And with the trails

³¹ Hall, p. 70. But Cecil Lord Baltimore wrote: "I have . . . at last, by the Help of some of your Lordship's (Strafford) good Friends and mine, overcome these Difficulties, and sent a hopeful Colony unto Maryland. . . . There are two of my Brothers gone with very near twenty other Gentlemen of very good Fashion, and three hundred labouring Men well provided in all Things." Reference, "The Lord Baltimore to the Lord Deputy," signed Cecilius Baltimore, Odiham, January 10, 1633 (o. s.), *The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches*, ed. by William Knowler, London, 1739, I, 178-179. Among the difficulties referred to was the delay to have the voyagers take the oath of allegiance. The searcher for the vessels found them at Tilbury Hope where he offered the oath "to the persons aboard, to the number of about 128, who took the same." The master of the vessels said that some few had left when the start was delayed. Of the various sources probably the "Relation" of 1635 was most reliable because it was a prospectus written about two years after the first voyage, and Lord Baltimore had no reason to understate the number of adventurers in such an advertisement. Of the gentlemen who came to Maryland, 2 died on the way, George Calvert stayed in Virginia, and within a decade 13 of the others had died or moved from the province. "No one of all these left any descendants in the Province." Ethan Allen, *Who Were the Early Settlers of Maryland?*, Baltimore, 1866.

³² Hall, pp. 72-73.

³³ *Relation of Maryland*, London, 1634, pp. 2, 3, 4. This is the rare printed *Relation*, one of the two known copies at the John Carter Brown Library (photostat at the Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore).

³⁴ Hall, pp. 79, 99.

rough for man and horse the waterways offered the preferable routes. But the early detailed inventories of estates carried only an occasional boat or canoe. Possibly such craft were considered in joint ownership and therefore not listed, and crude rafts not counted. To be sure the handling of tobacco hogsheads from the wharves to the ocean going ships was often done by the tenders of those ships, but such customs did not relieve the settlers of some individual method of travelling by water. As a matter of record the few items will be mentioned; possibly subsequent research will fill the list to respectable proportions.

The *Merchant Adventure* came to Maryland in 1635 with settlers and the *Unity* in 1637.³⁵ Then four vessels were named during the years 1637 and 1638, all in connection with Indian trading, and thus were undoubtedly boats using oars and sails with their trips restricted to inland waters.³⁶ Inventories offered several canoes, one in 1638 appraised at 40 lbs. of tobacco; another estate had two old ones with a total value of 30 lbs.; in another record a little boat was listed at 150 lbs. of leaf, and in 1642 a canoe at 33 lbs.³⁷ A boat in 1647 was appraised at 1,200 lbs. of tobacco.³⁸ During the last quarter of the century many more evidences of vessels appeared in the records and these will be given in the latter part of this article.

Naturally there were more ships than have been indicated. If the figures for the population growth had been more abundant and reliable they might have offered some clue to the number of vessels entering Maryland with some allowance for the migrations from Virginia.³⁹ But another source of information is available of greater

³⁵ Mrs. George W. Hodges, "An Alphabetical Record of the Arrival of Ships in the Province of Maryland, 1634-1679," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, V, 339-341 (hereafter cited as *Md. H. M.*), a more convenient source than the index to the Maryland Land or Patent Records, MS (Land Office, Annapolis). The *Ark* made a second trip from England late in 1634 arriving in Virginia with part of its cargo for the account of Ld. Baltimore. The *Dove* after a trip to New England, a desertion of its crew, costly repairs necessitated by the ravages of the worm, set sail in August, 1635, for England, but never arrived. R. Semmes, "The Ark and the Dove," *Md. H. M.*, XXXIII, 13-22.

³⁶ *Archives*, III, 58, 63, 67-68, 78.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 30, 83, 88, 94.

³⁸ *Md. Pat. Rec.*, Liber No. 1, p. 567.

³⁹ Now and then an estimate of population for the decades of the seventeenth century was possible. In 1634 Virginia had not over 5,000 people; by 1649 there were about 15,000 white and 300 slaves; in 1664 the total population of Virginia and Maryland was estimated to be 40,000, and two years later the Virginia figure alone was set at 40,000. Bruce, pp. 319, 336, 391, 397. Taking the two figures for Virginia, 1649 and 1666, the rate of growth was about 1,500 people a year; thus by 1664 Maryland would have had somewhat over 3,000 people. Dangers of even more direct calculations were apparent from the following: for the year 1660 the population of Maryland was given as 8,000 in the *Century of Population Growth in the United States, 1790-1900*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1909, p. 6. The source was not indicated, but

reliability. Within several years after arrival the adventurers had entered upon the cultivation of tobacco which continued to be almost the sole commercial product of the colony for a full century. From an occasional record of tobacco shipments an estimate can be made of the number of vessels involved in the trade with Maryland. The data necessary are either the number of hogsheads of leaf or the pounds, the average weight of the hogsheads at different periods and the average number of casks carried on the ships. The results check closely enough with specific information about shipping which is offered at different times to make the conclusions distinctly better than no estimate at all.

For instance, in the fifth decade of the seventeenth century the total recorded exports of tobacco from America were about 1,500,000 pounds. It was rather improbable that Maryland was shipping much more than 100,000 pounds in 1640 or 400,000 pounds by the end of the decade.⁴⁰ On the basis of hogsheads weighing on the average 350 pounds and with a 10 per cent. allowance for unrecorded shipments there would have been 300 to 1,000 hogsheads available at the Maryland plantations or the equivalent in bulk tobacco.⁴¹ Although later on in the century the average tobacco ship squeezed all of 300 hogsheads into its hold without much trouble, the ships in the earlier decades had not been so well adapted to cylindrical casks.

Bradley T. Johnson, *The Foundation of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1883 (Maryland Historical Society, Fund Publications, No. 18), p. 175, had a figure of 8,180 people in 1667, having taken his data from an order by the Maryland Council in February 8, 1667 (o. s.) to levy "every twentieth person" (his quotation) for an expedition against the Indians; and a total of 410 men were levied. However, the printed *Archives*, V, 21, read "that every tenth person . . . be raised . . .," by apportionment among the counties. "Tenth" was the accurate transcription; thus with a total of 410 men raised, the population was about 4,000, a figure reasonably near the estimate from the Virginia data. Manuscript Archives, Liber H. H., p. 289 (Record of Council, 1656-68).

Bancroft estimated the Maryland population in 1688 at 25,000, *Century of Population Growth*, p. 8. By 1701 a pretty accurate census had been taken and the figures were 12,214 taxables and 20,044 untaxed, a total of 32,258, *Archives*, XXV, 255.

⁴⁰ United States Department of Agriculture, *Yearbook*, 1908, p. 681; see also, V. J. Wyckoff, *Tobacco Regulation in Colonial Maryland*, Baltimore, 1936, (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, extra vol., n. s., no. 22), pp. 49, 54.

⁴¹ The term "unrecorded shipments" also covers illegal trading which became a problem after the Navigation Acts. The numerous waterways in Maryland always presented serious obstacles to surveillance and with many of the population apparently not adverse to the individual convenience and profit from such irregular contacts, official administration was difficult. However, in Maryland the weight of research pointed toward a minimum of violations when compared to a number of other colonies. See Wyckoff, pp. 104-106 for a summary of the opinions on this point. For a later period, 1691-1702, Morriss found a total of 31 vessels definitely recorded, Margaret S. Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689-1715*, Baltimore, 1914 (J. H. U. Studies, XXXII, no. 3), p. 118. On such data my estimate of a 10 per cent. allowance seemed reasonable.

Moreover with the plantations on the Maryland side of the Potomac just getting established the ship masters usually planned to pick up part of their load in Virginia. With those considerations in mind, it seems reasonable to allow about 100 hogsheads of Maryland tobacco to a ship thus giving as a conservative estimate for the fifth decade from 3 to 10 vessels a year loading tobacco for export in Maryland waters. Distributed in the holds of smaller crafts, sloops of 7-15 tons, brigantines and barks of 20-40 tons, the tobacco would have taken double the number of vessels.

Shipping in Other Colonies, 1634-1649. At this middle point of the seventeenth century it will be worth while for a few paragraphs to look at the development of the maritime activities in the other American colonies. In 1635 at Marblehead in New England the *Desire* of 120 tons was built, and at Salem several large decked shallops of 20-30 tons. John Mason, Secretary of the British Admiralty, reported that more than 40 ships were in the New England trade; of that number 6 were owned by the colonists.⁴² To the South in Virginia there was a note that 21 sail arrived in 1636, and with the many penetrating waterways there were certainly hundreds of small, plantation boats.⁴³

Once the fifth decade was entered the number of items for colonial shipping increased rapidly. "Most authorities place the beginning of American shipbuilding as an industry in the period between 1641 and 1650. . . . The existing records show no year, however, from 1640 to 1700, in which more than sixty vessels were built in all the colonies together."⁴⁴ Certainly the history of New England lent substance to the importance of that section of America. D'Avenant wrote: "Of all the American Plantations, New-England (as Sir Josiah Child has observed) is the most proper for building ships and breeding seamen." Such activity contained a serious threat to English vessels engaged in both the West Indies trade and even foreign commerce; though "to build ships in the way of [colonial] trade, or for their own defence, can administer no true cause of jealousy."⁴⁵

Boston launched a ship of 160 tons in 1641 and Salem one of 300 tons; Plymouth built its first bark at a cost of £200. Three ships came off the ways at Boston in 1642, 1 at Dorchester and 1 at Salem;

⁴² Weeden, pp. 128, 136.

⁴³ "Virginia in 1636" (abstracts), *Va. M. H. B.*, IX, 38.

⁴⁴ Chapelle, p. 7. Weeden mentioned as an aid to building the English act of 1642 which freed vessels in the New England trade from customs either inward or outward bound, p. 142.

⁴⁵ D'Avenant, *Works*, ed. by Sir C. Whitworth, London, 1771, II, 9, 10.

the next year the records showed 4 vessels built in Massachusetts and mentioned that in one day 5 sailed from Boston. Within the next several years Boston contributed vessels of 200 tons, 300 and one of 400 tons "heavily armed and ornamented"; Cambridge constructed 1 of 250 tons. The reports from that area in 1647 were that shipbuilding was "going on gallantly." In Connecticut and Rhode Island the industry was getting under way. Winthrop wrote about 3 ships setting sail for London in one day.⁴⁶ For the forties Bruce found little trace of shipbuilding in Virginia, but there continued to be entries of vessels and he noted that in 1649 there were trading in the local waters 12 English, 12 Dutch and some New England vessels.⁴⁷

Shipping in Maryland, 1650-1674. To return to Maryland for a continuation of maritime development after 1650. One of the few seventeenth century contemporary accounts for the province was *A Character of the Province of Maryland* by George Alsop.⁴⁸ Published in London in 1666, its purpose was to encourage people to go to Maryland—if necessary as indentured servants. Such a motive led to exaggerations on some counts, but the accuracy of other observations was frequently substantiated. His comment on shipping in the tobacco trade (chapter 4) fell among the reputable observations: "Between November and January there arrives in this Province Shipping to the number of twenty sail and upwards. . . ." As shall be shown later the proportion of the vessels coming into the palatinate in those winter months was possibly not over one-third of the total for the year, so during the several years of the seventh decade Alsop was in the province the annual total of ships would have been sixty "and upwards."

That conclusion received general confirmation from the use of the method of estimation described a few pages above, namely, total pounds of exported tobacco divided by the average number of pounds in a hogshead divided by the average number of hogsheads per ship. Tobacco exports from America in 1664 were estimated at 23,700,000 pounds; allowing 400 pounds to a hogshead there were about 59,000 hogsheads.⁴⁹ The West Indies had forsaken tobacco for sugar, but some of the leaf was grown and shipped from the New England

⁴⁶ Winthrop, II, 29, 79, 212, 339; Weeden, pp. 140, 143, 144, 152, 153, 154.

⁴⁷ Bruce, II, 309.

⁴⁸ Republished Md. H. S., 1880 (Fund Pub., No. 15); also in Hall, pp. 340-387.

⁴⁹ U. S. Agri. Yearbook, 1908, p. 681. There was no regular collection of statistics on tobacco imports and exports in England until the end of the century; especially was there a gap from 1640 to 1685. See Alfred Rive, "The Consumption of Tobacco Since 1600," *Economic History*, I, 57-75.

area; and the Southward Plantations (North Carolina) were noticeable enough in the market to be included in the Maryland-Virginia efforts to stint tobacco cultivation in 1663-1666.⁵⁰ Deducting such contributions from the total the two principal plantations, Maryland and Virginia, were shipping 50,000 hogsheads or better.⁵¹ Allowing between 280 and 300 casks to a ship⁵² the number of vessels engaged in the export trade for the two colonies would have been approximately 170 plus a 10 per cent. allowance for unrecorded shipments. Because tobacco was almost the exclusive commercial product the claim on cargo space by other commodities was negligible. Of the total shipments for the two colonies Maryland was sending out somewhat less than half. Thus one comes to the conclusion that during the seventh decade the average number of ships trading in Maryland waters was between 70 and 80, excluding the numerous small boats used within the province. Virginia's contribution was 90 to 100 vessels.⁵³ There were at least two years, 1665 and 1666, within that decade during which shipping was at a low ebb. The tobacco colonies were attempting to restrict the cultivation of the plant; and in England commerce was curtailed by the Great Plague (1665) and the fire of London (September, 1666). About 100 ships sailed from the two plantations in 1667, and of 80 vessels in 1668 the tobacco crop of the previous year was handled by 30 of them.⁵⁴

Even at that time there was no definite evidence that the people of Maryland personally owned any of those vessels engaged in inter-colonial or foreign trade, though the statement that "the colony had no shipping of its own" seemed too exclusive.⁵⁵ To be sure the very adequacy of tobacco as a lure brought colonial, English and foreign traders to the plantation. But Maryland as a one-crop agricultural region was little more than self-sustaining for many decades and really dependent upon the other American colonies for an existence much above the margin. Both that dependence upon inter-colonial trade, the possible profits in ship ownership and the example

⁵⁰ Andrews, II, 253; *Archives*, I, 484; Weeden, pp. 204, 333; Wyckoff, pp. 65, 79-80.

⁵¹ Bruce confirmed this figure, I, 391.

⁵² This number of hds. was taken from a list of 248 ships trading in Maryland, 1689-1693, to be discussed in more detail later.

⁵³ Bruce in one place gave 80 English and Irish vessels as the average in the Virginia tobacco trade, I, 385. At the same time he wrote of 31 ships leaving in May from Virginia; it was probable that twice that number left in the other months of the year.

⁵⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1661-1668, no. 1800 (hereafter cited as C. C. P.). In the Maryland Land Patent Records for the year 1662-1679 a few ships were found, see Hodges, *Md. H. M.*, V, 339-341.

⁵⁵ Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government 1652-1688*, New York, 1904, p. 244. The Maryland tonnage (powder and shot) or port duties exempted locally owned vessels as a matter of course with no emphasis upon the encouragement of ship-building.

of Virginia in encouraging ship-building by legislation were considerations which intelligent people could not completely ignore. The final item relative to the number of vessels in Maryland during the third quarter of the century had an official origin. On June 2, 1673, Governor Calvert wrote that in his last year's account there were 87 ships which arrived of which 81 cleared and 6 remained to go.⁵⁶

Prices and rentals of vessels in Maryland trade during the third quarter of the century could be slightly judged from several available items. In the sixties there was a sale of a sloop (about 12 tons), its small boat (probably a row boat) and equipment for 5,600 lbs. of tobacco. With a value for the leaf from 1d. to 1½d. a pound, the sterling equivalent was £22-£34 for the outfit.⁵⁷ That was a moderate price if £4 a ton was considered the usual rate for construction in New England and an occasional price of £3 a ton in Virginia. Half interest in a bark cost the buyer 15,000 lbs. of leaf, giving a price for the complete ownership of £120-£180 sterling, or £4-£6 a ton. A small boat was appraised at 500 lbs. and an equipped sloop at 6,500.⁵⁸ A few years later a fully equipped ketch, about 40 tons, was sold for £100.⁵⁹ For freight or passenger carriage from Maryland to Virginia it was not unusual to rent a vessel, and a suit to compel payment for such a trip gave the terms of 2,000 lbs. of tobacco (£4-£6) plus wages and food for the crew. A similar trip cost 1,300 lbs. and provisions.⁶⁰

Maryland Laws Affecting Shipping. With the colony so dependent upon shipping it was to be expected that the Maryland settlers would have considered legislation pertinent to such activities, but in accordance with the individualism of pioneer living their considerations in most cases led to the decision to have as few laws as possible until really needed. There was no indication that during the seventeenth century any of the self-imposed Maryland laws concerning maritime activities had much effect one way or another. The Navigation Acts were not self-imposed. A brief statement will be made about several provincial laws which directly or indirectly concerned shipping, namely the duties on tobacco, the establishment of ports, the control over the quantity of the leaf and its quality.

⁵⁶ *Calvert Papers No. 1*, Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1889 (Fund Pub., No. 28), p. 300.

⁵⁷ *Archives*, XLIX, 450.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 187, 205.

⁵⁹ Maryland Provincial Court Records, JJ, p. 423, MS (Hall of Records, Annapolis; hereafter cited as Md. P. C. R.).

⁶⁰ *Archives*, III, 556; Md. P. C. R., NN, pp. 715-716.

Maryland duties on tobacco commenced with a 5 per cent. levy on exports imposed by the Assembly of 1639, a loss of archives preventing a knowledge of previous legislation in the colony.⁶¹ There was no killing of the goose which laid the golden eggs, so although duties on commerce and particularly tobacco continued to be used off and on during the century they were for revenue purposes for the proprietor and provincial government. One exception must be noted. The 10 per cent. duty of 1695 imposed on all European goods passing through Maryland was distinctly directed against Pennsylvania, partly to even scores on the boundary dispute and settlement.⁶² The purpose of revenues was also found in the powder and shot or port tonnage duties on incoming ships with exemptions for Maryland vessels.⁶³

Then there were the port acts, efforts on the part of the Lords Baltimore and English authorities to establish definite settlements within Maryland to which tobacco could be brought from surrounding plantations and at which ships could unload English merchandise. But as long as the tobacco did not have to stand official inspection at designated points, and that did not occur until 1747, the individual planters found it more convenient to ship directly from the nearest private wharf, or to sell to local English factors who would assume the responsibility for transporting the leaf. Where the inclinations of the inhabitants coincided with geographical advantages and the locations specified in the several port acts,—there a wharf and a few houses and sheds were erected. Otherwise during the century such laws proved little more than a gesture and a preliminary experience for more successful administration in the eighteenth century.⁶⁴

Another kind of legal effort by the Maryland assemblies which affected the trade of the colony resulted from the efforts to regulate the production of the chief staple, tobacco. Almost from the beginning of the tobacco shipments there were complaints about false packing, that is, the inclusion of trash and worthless leaf in the hogsheads or bundles of tobacco. There was recognition in both Maryland and Virginia of the damage such practices did to the trade,

⁶¹ For a discussion of the regulation of tobacco during the seventeenth century prior to 1634 see Wyckoff, Ch. II. The 1639 law, *Archives*, I, 84.

⁶² *Ibid.*, XIX, 223, 231, 238.

⁶³ The laws for the tobacco and tonnage duties with all references to the *Archives*: 1647, I, 420-422; 1649, X, v, 374; 1650, I, 292-293; 1661, I, 416-418; 1669, II, 217-218; 1671, II, 249, 255-257, 284-286; 1674, II, 386-389; 1676, II, 515-517; 1682, VII, 323-324; 1692, XIII, 441-442, 460-462; 1694, XIX, 114-115; 1696, XIX, 375.

⁶⁴ The port acts with references to the *Archives*: 1639, I, 84; 1668, V, 31-32, 93-94; 1683, VII, 609-619; 1684, XIII, 111-120; 1686, XIII, 132-139; 1688, XIII, 218-220, VIII, 3; 1694, XIX, 110; 1695, XIX, 211; the next law came in 1704. The manufacturing interests in England in many cases were not keen about the formation of ports in the colonies, fearing the development of manufacturing in centers of population.

yet enough planters were profiting from an unregulated system of production and marketing to nullify the effectiveness of the legislation which did get through. Furthermore because colonial export duties and English import charges were nominally independent of the quality of the leaf, threats to lessen the quantity shipped were also threats to the revenues of the proprietor, the province, the Crown. A short-lived reform movement was experienced in the depression years of 1663-1666 when negotiations went so far as to get enforcing acts for a cessation of tobacco planting in Maryland, Virginia and Carolina, but it was not until 1747 that an effective law was passed and enforced. Thus there was no measurable effect of such sporadic legislation during the seventeenth century upon Maryland shipping and it seemed improbable that had tobacco been supervised the number of vessels engaged in the trade would have been much different. The change would probably have been in better leaf prices at the plantations.

Foreign Influences Upon Maryland Shipping. In a discussion of Maryland maritime activities recognition must be made of such major events in the colony's history as the threatened repeal of Lord Baltimore's letters patent and the removal of his administrative officers by House of Lord's ordinance in 1647; the proprietor's efforts to stave off action, successful until the reduction of Maryland by the Commonwealth's Commissioners March 29, 1652; and the restoration of the province to Baltimore November 30, 1657.⁶⁵ There were also the acts and ordinances under Cromwell, particularly those affecting trade in 1647 and the first navigation act of 1651.⁶⁶ Then at rather frequent intervals came the wars with the Dutch.⁶⁷

But it is impossible to accurately determine the results of those blows on the colony's economic stability and particularly the trend of shipping. Specific figures are fragmentary and although the provincial archives are quantitatively satisfactory for most periods they contain little reference to the economic consequences of most of those events. One conclusion is that the disturbances were of momentary consequence in the activities of planting tobacco, exchanging it for merchandise and maintaining physical existence. Politically the years

⁶⁵ *Archives*, III, 165, 173-174, 180-181, 271-272, 332-334.

⁶⁶ C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, London, 1911; the ordinance of Jan. 23, 1647, I, 912-913, the act of Oct. 9, 1651, II, 559-562. See Maurice P. Ashley, *Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate*, London, 1934.

⁶⁷ The wars of 1652-1654, 1664-1666, 1672-1674; a convenient reference, Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government*.

from the middle of the century to the entry of the royal governor in 1692 were broken by bursts of internal strife.

In the case of the royal acts of trade, 1660, 1663, 1672, 1693, the results were somewhat different.⁶⁸ It seems casual or perhaps high-handed to take care of the Navigation Acts in Maryland in a short paragraph, but the concentration of interest in this paper is upon the quantity of shipping in Maryland, the number of boats built in the province, their prices, home ports, destinations. The statement can be made that such acts made an appreciable difference in the trade routes for Maryland commerce and the nationality of the bottoms used. In the amount of freight carried there is no evidence of or reason for a change from the century long trend of growth; such a change was not the purpose of England's colonial policy.

Of course the trade with the Dutch was most affected. From the earliest years not only had there been some contacts with the New Amsterdam settlement and Delaware River projects, but also the Hollanders as the dominant seamen of the first half of the century had taken their share of the direct ocean traffic. After the conquest of the Dutch areas in America by the Duke of York in the sixties, the nationality of those colonial ports changed. But neither that change nor the Navigation Acts, generally observed in Maryland, diverted all of the tobacco-merchandise exchanges away from the Dutch. Shipments through the New England and Caribbean ports were not uncommon and there were enough individual vessels directly from Holland to indicate an annoying but not serious illegal trade.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *The Statutes of the Realm*, London, 1810-1822: 1660, "An Act for the Encouraging and increasing of Shipping and Navigation," 12 Car. II. c. 18 (V, 246-250); 1663, "An Act for the Encouragement of Trade," 15 Car. II. c. 7 (V, 449-452); 1670-1671, "An Act to prevent the planting of Tobacco in England, and for regulating the Plantation Trade," 22 & 23 Car. II. c. 26 (V, 747-749), continued in 1685, 1 Jac. II. c. 17 (VI, 20) and again in 1693, 4 Gul. & Mar. c. 24 (VI, 417); 1672, "An Act for the incouragement of the Greenland and Eastland Trades, and for the better securing the Plantation Trade, 25 Car. II. c. 7 (V, 792-793), with the 1693 supplement, 4 Gul. & Mar. c. 17 (VI, 405-410). Also see, C. M. Andrews, *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675*, Baltimore, 1908 (J. H. U. Studies, XXVI, nos. 1-3).

⁶⁹ Lord Baltimore in December, 1660, had written to the Maryland Council expressing the hope that the Dutch in the Delaware would be speedily reduced (the Dutch were disputing Baltimore's claim to the west bank of the Delaware), and the Council issued a letter of mark to Capt. James Neale to bring in any Dutch vessels he might find. The proprietor had said that Maryland could count on the New Englanders and the Virginians, but the Council felt such aid "not at all likely the Dutch Trade being the Darling of the People of Virginia as well as this Province and indeed all other Plantacons of the English." *Archives*, III, 428. The Dutch were shrewd traders. They were not particular about the quality of the tobacco on which count the London merchants plagued the planters, and they gave good prices on merchandise. England in time matched that trading ability with armaments and won. See Weeden, 233-234, 262; Bruce, I, 357-358.

Shipping in Other Colonies, 1650-1674. Before turning to the last quarter of the century it might be well to bring the information about shipping in the other colonies up to the date 1675 even though the items were somewhat scattered. As was mentioned, the Virginians becoming concerned over their dependence upon ships owned and operated by other people started in 1656 to encourage building by legislative relief from duties and by subsidies for sea-going vessels. Bruce wrote that "these laws had the effect of promoting ship-building in Virginia to some extent." In 1667 there was a note of the *America*, a locally owned ship engaged in the English trade, which was probably the same vessel referred to in another reference as a frigate of 30-40 guns built in Virginia. A sloop in 1672 was constructed at a cost of 4467 lbs. of tobacco (about £35 sterling) and several other small vessels.⁷⁰ Estimates of the number of tobacco ships in Virginia rivers have been given with the Maryland calculations for the seventh decade.

New England also by legislation was keeping an eye on the construction of her vessels, an activity in that area needing not so much stimulation as supervision. "Vessels were a leading article of export for sale as well as carriers of freight," wrote Weeden. "Massachusetts knew that a high standard of excellence must be maintained, and instituted regular inspection of shipbuilding. It was effective and complaints of defects are recorded."⁷¹ Yet in the fifties the actual carrying trade seemed very small unless a misinterpretation is placed on the statement of John Hull who in 1656 wrote that 3 ships carried "the sum of the returns of the country unto England, as is usual every year," and in 1657 the same number arrived from London with clothing and 4 went out carrying "the sum of the returns" as before. Weeden's comments were that "these statements show that there was an annual settlement, and that the country was almost self-supporting."⁷² By the seventh decade, however, there must have been in addition a considerable number of New England bottoms in the American commerce and there was a well defined increase in activities. Near Salem a ship 68 feet long and 23 feet broad was built at a cost of £3.5 per ton (in New England money and commodities), a low price because the usual estimates ran at £4 a ton. Massachusetts offered a fifteen year monopoly to anyone building a drydock. New London was building vessels and turned out three barks from 12-20 tons valued at £50-£80 apiece.⁷³ Con-

⁷⁰ Bruce, I, 433-434, 436; "English Records Relating to Virginia" and "Virginia in 1676 and 1665-1666," *Va. M. H. B.*, XX, 198, 358.

⁷¹ Weeden, pp. 156, 258.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 253, 258.

necticut was encouraging the trade by a relief from taxes as long as the ships were on the stocks.⁷⁴

The exact number of ships in New England waters in an average year at that time cannot be determined. Weeden referred to an item from the British archives that in 1662 England "employed 200 sail in her commerce with America and the West Indies," and he added, "New England and the West Indies furnish the larger part of this trade. . . ." ⁷⁵ But this either underestimated the number of English ships or minimized the importance of the tobacco trade with Maryland and Virginia, with all due allowance for colonial vessels handling tobacco both in inter-colonial trade and across the ocean. Hull said that 60 ships besides ketches (that is, small local boats) came into Boston in 1663, and in 1664 nearly 100 sail, local and foreign. Also the preeminence of the New England colony in shipping was indicated by a communication from the General Court to the king on the number of vessels owned in the colony. There were 80 of 20-40 tons (boats), 40 of 40-100 tons, and 12 over 100 tons.⁷⁶ At Piscataqua during 1665 there were 7 or 8 ships which entered for masts for the English navy. Further South along the coast at New Amsterdam reports came of some 8 big ships every year bringing passengers, merchandise and returning with beaver, other skins and tobacco, the tobacco having been brought to the Hudson by New England traders, 9 of whom were counted in one busy week in addition to the Dutch vessels.⁷⁷

Length of Ocean Voyage. Contemporary accounts usually agreed about the time required to cross the ocean. There was a slight improvement over the earlier trips. In the Maryland "Relation" of 1635, which as a prospectus would certainly have put the best facts forward, the voyage to that province was stated as "sometimes performed thither in 5 or 6 weeks, but ordinarily it is two months voyage, and oftner, within that time then beyond it. The returne from thence to England, is ordinarily made in a moneth, and seldome exceeds sixe weekes." ⁷⁸ Bruce gave the average for the century of about 5 weeks from England, and a little less than a month for the return trip, one even being made in 20 days.⁷⁹ But

⁷⁴ Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States*, New York, 1929, I, 45.

⁷⁵ Weeden, p. 163.

⁷⁶ Hermann F. Clarke, "John Hull—Colonial Merchant," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, XLVI, n. s., p. 204. This article gave an authentic picture of a 17th century New England merchant.

⁷⁷ Weeden, pp. 244, 262, 265; Jameson, p. 424.

⁷⁸ Hall, p. 92.

⁷⁹ Bruce, I, 624.

other available records showed a longer eastward passage until toward the end of the century: Maryland to Lyme in 35 days, Virginia to Lyme in 35 days and another vessel to Newcastle in "less than two months."⁸⁰ A routine detailed account of the voyage of a tobacco ship from Poole to Virginia confirmed the frequent experience of ship masters in having to gather their cargo in small lots from various plantations unless they had an agent located in the plantations.⁸¹

Passenger and Freight Charges. A few passenger and freight rates for the years before 1634 have been given; more items were available for the next forty years. The *Maryland Relation* of 1634 gave transportation charges as £6 a person, a representative price for many years, and the "Relation" of 1635 carried a detailed account of "necessary provisions as every Adventurer must carry . . . together with an estimate of their prices," the total cost of passage and provisions was £20.15.04.⁸² An occasional individual expense account was found which usually was around the norm. In 1657 a passage was contracted for 1,200 lbs. of bright tobacco, or £6.10, and the bond was a title to two milk cows. Several years later two servants cost their master the same fare plus 6½ sh. each for "petty charges," but a wholesale shipment of 69 servants by an agent averaged only 850 lbs. of tobacco, £5 to £5.10.⁸³ Possibly the Dutch war accounted for the high charge made for bringing 5 people to Maryland in 1673, the rate was 1,500 lbs. of tobacco (somewhat over £9) for each person including the servant who died at sea.⁸⁴ Expenses for passengers carried from Maryland to Virginia were less uniform. On the one hand in 1643 there was a record of 3 servants being carried to Virginia for a total of 150 lbs. of tobacco (18 sh.); whereas in 1651 a single passage cost 200 lbs. and three years later a regular trip was rated at 500 lbs. while a special sail down the Bay to the Potomac ran to 1,200 lbs.⁸⁵

As has been mentioned, Bruce gave a wide range for freight charges and it was to be expected that different classes of freight would carry different rates. The earliest item for Maryland was carried in the "Relation" of 1635 which gave £1.10 as the freight on one-half ton weight of personal possessions for those coming to the

⁸⁰ *C. D. P.*, 1670, p. 219; 1672, pp. 82, 328.

⁸¹ Sloane Manuscripts, no. 1426, British Museum (transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁸² Hall, p. 96. The list was similar to one by Captain John Smith.

⁸³ *Archives*, XLI, 215, 514; *Md. P. C. R.*, FF, p. 760; tobacco valued at 1½d. a pound.

⁸⁴ *Md. P. C. R.*, MM, p. 66.

⁸⁵ *Archives*, IV, 169; X, 97, 391.

province.⁸⁶ Next came an unusual item for Maryland exports. Lord Baltimore had asked his brother, Leonard, who was governor, to send some well selected cedar trees to England. Leonard replied in 1638 that to do so would cost £8-£10 a ton in addition to the charges for getting them to the water's edge.⁸⁷ An interesting suit appeared in 1654 for "Dead freight" involving damages of £60. The shipper had agreed to have 80 hogsheads ready for the captain and was actually able to supply only 50, so paid £2 a cask for the empty cargo space. That was near to the most common charge, about £7 a ton (considered 4 hogsheads), which appeared on a contract to carry tobacco from the Patuxent River in Maryland to London with a bond posted for £200.⁸⁸ Several more references to the same rate were given in 1660, the actual charge being £7.10 plus primage and duties if landed in London and £8 if the tobacco was assigned to Holland or "Zeland."⁸⁹

Nature of Cargoes. Relative to the nature of the cargoes there was very little change in the invoices of incoming vessels during the century because both Maryland and Virginia to an almost exclusive extent concentrated on agricultural products, mainly tobacco, and exchanged the leaf for manufactured goods and even food.⁹⁰ Alsop may again be used because his comments on this point were repeatedly confirmed by contemporary accounts.⁹¹

The three main Commodities this Country affords for Trafique, are Tobacco, Furrs, and Flesh. . . . Tobacco is the only solid Staple Commodity of this Province [and] Merchant-men [come] loaden with Commodities to Trafique and dispose of, trucking with the Planters for Silks, Hollands, Serges, and Broad-clothes, with other necessary Goods: . . . Thus is the Trade on both sides drove on with a fair and honest Decorum.

Though it must be insisted that on the "honest Decorum" part Alsop was either ingenuous or wrote with his tongue in his cheek.

As late as 1697 an official reply by the Maryland Assembly to inquiries from England stated that tobacco was the only export to

⁸⁶ Hall, p. 96.

⁸⁸ *Archives*, X, 394; XLI, 29.

⁸⁷ *Calvert Papers* No. 1.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 400-401, 406-408.

⁹⁰ Records of the original cargo of the *Ark* and the *Dove* were probably incomplete but there were a small amount of ordinance, 12 pipes of Canary wine, some 230 tuns of beer costing about £400. The goods for trading and personal use included coarse frieze, some hinderland (probably a German cloth), small groceries, glass beads, combs (box, ivory, horn), brass kettles, axes, Sheffield knives, hoes, hawks' bells; "The Ark and the Dove," *Md. H. M.*, I, 353-354; XXXIII, 22. Trading truck for inland voyages to the Indians was listed in the petitions for licenses to trade, and in the inventory of Claiborn was an excellent picture of household and trading goods which had to be brought from England; *Archives*, III, 63, 67, 76, 78.

⁹¹ Hall, p. 363. For a more detailed account of the planter-merchant relations, Wyckoff, pp. 61-63, 130-139.

foreign areas except for small quantities of furs and sassafras, and the "trade . . . ebbs and flowes according to the rise and fall of tobo in the Markett of England." With other colonies there was a "little traffique" in pork, beef, pipe staves, timber, wheat, flour and some tobacco,—those items going principally to Barbadoes in small crafts belonging to Maryland or New England. And in return the province received rum, sugar, molasses, some fish and wooden ware.⁹²

Conditions of Passage. It might be well at this point to mention the conditions of the voyage to the New World. The seventeenth century ships at the best were small. They operated under the usual decreasing costs so the more passengers and freight the greater the profit up to the point where dangers from disease or too low water lines were present. A few contemporary accounts will indicate the general nature of the voyages. The Virginians had felt that the epidemic of 1622 came from a vessel on which fever had started from decayed food; the colony and England then took some measures to assure a minimum of protection for the passengers.⁹³ Alsop's "Character of the Province of Maryland" had a brief, cheerful word about the passage:

Now those that commit themselves unto the care of the Merchant to carry them over, they need not trouble themselves with any inquisitive search touching their voyage: for there is such an honest care and provision made for them all the time they remain aboard the Ship, and are sailing over, that they want for nothing that is necessary and convenient.

Having reassured prospective servants he gave another angle of the trip in a personal letter from Maryland to a friend in England:

[Apparently Alsop had lost weight aboard ship] not that I wanted for anything that the Ship could afford me in reason: But oh the great bowls of Pease-porridge that appeared in sight every day about the hour twelve, ingulfed the sense of my Appetite so, with the restraining quality of the Salt Beef, upon the internal Inhabitants of my belly, that a Galenist for some days after my arrival, with his Bag-pipes of Physical operations, could hardly make my Puddings dance in any methodical order.⁹⁴

⁹² *Archives*, XIX, 580, 583; XX, 520-522. More details of imports came from the invoices of several ships: 200 lbs. of pewter, 100 of brass manufactured, 1,200 lbs. of wrought iron, 300 of cast iron, 2,000 lbs. of nails, 102 quarters of haberdashery, 10 doz. felt hats, 5 firkins of butter, 300 of cheese, 180 lbs. of worsted stuff, 300 of cotton goods, 20 rugs, 10 prs. of blankets at 15 lbs., 1½ tun of beer, 500 glass quart bottles, linen, nutmegs, silk, paper, cordage, bridles. British Custom House Papers, Port Books, bundle 115, 2-4, MS (transcripts, Library of Congress).

⁹³ Bruce, I, 625-627.

⁹⁴ Hall, pp. 356, 376.

From another account one learned that the food was principally ship biscuit, salt meat, peas, cheese; children under six years could have oatmeal, flour, fruit, sugar and butter.⁹⁵ Wise passengers who had the means took those extras in meat and drink which helped to vary the plain food of the ship. William Penn some years later gave good advice particularly about the housekeeping in the cabins:⁹⁶

To render [the voyage] more healthy, it is good to keep as much upon deck as may be; for the Air helps against the offensive smells of a Crowd, and a close place. Also to scrape often the Cabbins, under the Beds; and either carry Store of Rue and Wormwood; and some Rosemary, or often sprinkle Vinegar about the Cabbin. Pitch burnt, is not amiss sometimes against faintness and infectious scents. I speak my experience for their benefit and direction that may need it.

Wages of Crews. Now and then there was a reference to the wages paid the crews of the ocean going vessels in the plantation trade, and although as the century moved along the occasionally quoted figures were higher there were not enough data to form a judgment about the trend of wages. Because suit was brought against Cecil Lord Baltimore by the master of the *Dove* for expenses of the original voyage, we have the agreement about the wages to be paid each month: the master £4, mate £2.10, boatswain and gunner £1.2, two other men probably seamen £1, a boy for the master 10sh.; also the master was allowed free passage for another boy.⁹⁷ In the third quarter of the century there was a record of a suit to recover wages as "mariners," one man claiming 30sh. sterling a month and another 38sh.⁹⁸ A few years later another law suit offered the following detailed schedule of pay per month: master £7.10, chief mate £4.10, the second mate, cook, cooper, surgeon and carpenter received £3 apiece, the carpenter's mate and the boatswain £2, the gunner £1.15, and the 8 seamen were down for £1.6 each; the total monthly payroll came to £40.3.0.⁹⁹ Another court case at the end of the century involved an agreement by the owners of a vessel trading to

⁹⁵ Henry F. Thompson, "An Atlantic Voyage in the Seventeenth Century," *Md. H. M.*, II, 319-326; this article was apparently based on the log books of the *Friendship* and the *Baltimore* sailing in 1671 and 1673. See also, Semmes, *Captains and Mariners*, pp. 31-35.

⁹⁶ "A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania by William Penn, 1685," in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West Jersey and Delaware, 1630-1707*, ed. by Albert Cook Myers, New York, 1912.

⁹⁷ *Md. H. M.*, I, 352-354; Bernard C. Steiner, "New Light on Maryland History from the British Archives," *ibid.*, IV, 251-255.

⁹⁸ *Archives*, XLIX, 101.

⁹⁹ *Md. P. C. R.*, NN, pp. 182-184. Bruce found the pay of ship masters to be about £9 a month, chief mate £4, physician and carpenter £3.10, a sailor £2-2.6, II, 347-348.

Barbados to pay their master-factor on the ship 50sh. a month; that was reduced by the court to 40sh. While in port the master's servant was to get 15sh. a month for looking after the vessel, and there was an allowance of 2sh.6d. a day for general expenses while in Barbados.¹⁰⁰ Referring to New England commerce, Weeden wrote of ordinary wages for captains of £6 a month, £4 for the chief mate, £1.15 to £2.15 for the seamen.¹⁰¹

(To be continued)

¹⁰⁰ Maryland Provincial Court Judgments, WT(4), pp. 271-277, MS (Hall of Records, Annapolis; hereafter cited as Md. P. C. J.).

¹⁰¹ Weeden, p. 369.

THE SCULPTURED PANELS OF OLD ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, BALTIMORE

By I. T. FRARY

Two figures, carved in stone, have looked down for well over a century from the façade of the present old St. Paul's Church and from that of its predecessor on the ever changing throngs below in Charles Street. Few of the individuals in those throngs ever give a glance or a thought to the graven figures above them, but if they should, a curious story of early Baltimore life might be revealed to them.

This all but forgotten story can best be told in the words of the original participants, and its first chapter is to be found in an article written by Rembrandt Peale and published in the January 1856 number of a magazine called *The Crayon*. A copy of this publication, that is preserved in the Library of Congress at Washington, yielded the following:

The Battle Monument of Baltimore was designed by MAXIMILIAN GODEFROY. For the execution of the Sculptures designed for it, Sig. CAPELLANO, recently arrived in New York, was recommended, who came on to Baltimore; but not finding Mr. Godefroy at home, made his house his domicile, much to the surprise of the black cook who had charge of the house with a limited supply of change. I was informed of her dilemma, and wrote to Mr. Godefroy, but received no answer, as the artist, in a secluded spot, was absorbed in making an elaborate drawing of the Natural Bridge, in Virginia, and forgot everything connected with the Battle Monument. The poor sculptor became impatient and talked of returning to New York. Not to lose the chance of detaining, perhaps, an excellent artist, an occupation was suggested. ROBERT CARY LONG, the architect of St. Paul's Church, in anticipation of some future occasion of completing his design, had caused two large blocks of free-stone to be built in the upper front of his church—one, for the figure of Christ breaking the bread; the other, Moses holding the tables of the Law.

Mr. Capellano was delighted with the idea of getting to work; but it was necessary to decide upon his ability, and I proposed to Mr. Long, that I would give forty dollars, if he would contribute an equal sum, to pay the sculptor for two small models in clay. They were executed to my satisfaction, and a subscription of a thousand dollars was soon raised for the Church. The sculptor was quickly installed on his elevated platform, and one of the figures was nearly completed before Mr. Godefroy returned to bargain for the proposed sculptures for the Battle Monument. It was not long before he found full employment at the Capitol at Washington, as well as at Baltimore.

He was a most industrious man—and so devoted to his marble that he could not spare an hour to learn either French or English; and his wife, who

had joined him from New York, told me that she believed he would turn to stone himself. Fifteen years after this, (in 1830), I was surprised one fine afternoon in the Boboli gardens, at Florence, on being accosted by a well-dressed *Signor*, with his gay wife and five fine children. It was Capellano; who acknowledged my timely service to him, and informed me that having made money enough in America, he had bought *uno piccolo palazzo*, to enjoy the remainder of his days in his native city.

This story, which involves men of prominence in the art life of early Baltimore, naturally whets the appetite for further details, and a letter found among the rare manuscripts preserved by The Maryland Historical Society has thrown light on the Peale narrative. This letter was written by Capellano himself and was addressed to Robert Cary Long, the architect of St. Paul's Church¹ which was then under construction. It is the artist's formal acceptance of the contract for carving the two panels on the church, and thus provides a valuable link in the story.

Sir,

The circumstances which induced me to seek an asylum in this Country are well known—the embarrassments in which they have thrown me are so great, that I must pass over in silence a subject so painful—but these embarrassments united to my desire of manifesting my sensibility for the good will which the Inhabitants of Baltimore have had the goodness to evince towards me have determined me to conclude the contract which I made with you Yesterday through M^r Godefroy, of beginning immediately and of doing for \$1000 the Bass Reliefs of Moses & of Christ for S^t Paul's Church—now Sir, that the thing is concluded I am under the necessity of entreating that you will consent to payments being made to me in the following manner, for by a Letter received this morning from Madame Capellano in which she urges the necessity of an immediate remittance, & by my desire of being reunited to my family with the least possible delay, I cannot dispense with making such an arrangement & which I trust will meet your approbation—

1 st at the present moment - - - - -	\$ 300
2 ^d when one of the 2 bass reliefs is finished - - -	300
3 ^d when the second is rough hewed - - - - -	100
4 th when it is entirely finished - - - - -	300
<hr/>	
Making altogether the sum agreed on	\$1000

and I am ready to begin the moment you have prepared a place & the necessary workman.

You will perceive Sir, by what I have mentioned above, that I am urgently pressed to send Madame Capellano some money, & to have a little for immediate imperious occasions—permit me then to hope that you will have the goodness to procure me an advance of \$300, as I am compelled if possible

¹ Burned in 1854. The panels were used again in the façade of the present building.

to send some money by tomorrows mail to Mad^{me} Capellano—my gratitude will be great indeed if you will render me this important service.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your very obedient Servant

Capellano

Baltimore Nov^r 20th

P. S. I will take the liberty of calling at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 2 oclock.

[Addressed to:]

Mr Robert Carey Long
Baltimore

Just what Antonio Capellano referred to as "the circumstances which induced us to seek an asylum in this country" remains for someone with time for research to dig out, but we do know that the sculptor carved the figures of "Christ Breaking Bread" and "Moses Holding the Tables of the Law" on the wall of old St. Paul's, and the work on Battle Monument. He was a competitor for the figure of Washington that surmounts the monument in Mount Vernon Place, but was underbid by Enrico Causici.

Capellano's skill as a sculptor secured for him ready employment on the Capitol at Washington where he carved the bas-relief of Washington over the east entrance to the Rotunda, and the panel over the west door-way inside the Rotunda on which he represented the "Rescue of John Smith by Pocahontas."

Records show that he was desirous of making a portrait bust of James Madison, but the price of eight hundred dollars was too much for the Madison exchequer, and Mr. Madison asked William Lee "to let the matter drop in a manner most delicate towards the artist."

The final touch to the story is added by Peale's account of his meeting with the Capellano family in the Boboli Gardens of Florence, and the obvious conclusion is that, in the wording of contemporary fiction, they all "lived happily ever after."

*The Cleveland Museum of Art,
Cleveland, Ohio.*

STRICKER LETTERS

Contributed by ALICE HARRIS BRENT

The following letter of Colonel George Stricker is one of a number in my possession that throw light upon the family connections of General John Stricker, his son, who was in command at North Point in 1814. They also illustrate the interest of Marylanders in land ventures in Western Virginia where Colonel Stricker made his home from 1794 or earlier till his death.

Of Swiss ancestry George Stricker was born in 1732 and was a resident of Frederick County in 1774 when he was chosen a delegate to the Non-Importation Association which met in Philadelphia September 5th of that year. He was also one of the Committee of Observation from that County and of the Committee of three for Kittoctin Hundred to promote subscriptions for arms and ammunition. On January 3, 1776, he was commissioned captain in the 9th Company, Light Infantry (Smallwood's Regiment) and on July 17, 1776, lieutenant-colonel of the German Battalion. He resigned April 29, 1777, and thereafter represented his county for two sessions, 1779 and 1780, in the General Assembly.*

He married first in Frederick, Katharina or Catharine Springer, the mother of all his children—John, Mary and Elizabeth. His second wife was the Widow McMechen, who had a son, George McMechen. Colonel Stricker died at Wheeling, now West Virginia, in 1810. His elder daughter, Mary, was the wife of Ninian Beall and Elizabeth married ——— Bell. The wife of General John Stricker was Martha, daughter of Gunning Bedford.

The letter is one from a bundle of ten dating from October 1794 to 1805, addressed to General John Stricker. The handwriting varies in the letters but the signatures are all in the same hand. One of these letters which is correctly spelled seems to match his signatures.

* *Archives of Maryland*, XVIII: 18; *Proceedings of the Convention of . . . Maryland . . . 1774, 1775 and 1776*: 67, 93; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, II: 164, 174-175, 185; Williams, *History of Frederick County*, 1: 8; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, IX: 209-210; Heitman, *Historical Register* and Goldsborough's MS. Civil List 1749-1891 in Maryland Historical Society.

Mechens Bottom

March the 16th 1805

Dear Son

Yours of the 7th of Feby came to hand on the 23d of the same month and I was happy to here that you and your family wheare well, I congratulate you on the addition to the family and I hope the Lord will Bless you and them all—this makes the Number of my Grand Children 22 in Number that are in life—to wit your Sister Mary 10, five sons and five Doghters the names of sons are George James John Stricker this one I had Named for you and myself the other 2 sons are Baszel and Benjamin.

your sister Elizabeth has four Doghters and one son the Sons Name is George Stricker—and your Six Doghters and one son Makes the above Number of 22.

you Requested me to State quantity of acaers in your ohio farm wich 150 I gave you and 90 you bought of James Callwell which makes 240 acares and the 200 acaers I gave you in my Last will wich makes 440 acars and Runs one mile and 20 perch^s on the River ohio

since my last to you I have Received the Battent from Richmond for the 200 acares wich I entend to conve_ to you at the Next Court and when Recorded will forward to you the Battent and Deed.

your Middle Island falls farm wich was Servaed for you in your Name contains 600 acares and the other 200 acares survaed in my name for which I assigned you the certertificade of the Suervay which makes 800 acares—the Part of the tract that was attempted to have been taken away will not afacet it at all—this farm is Varey Valuabale for watter works and there is a Bank of Iron or_ on the Same

I have offered to Give a Lease on it for ten years to make such improvements as I shall think Proper

your other Lands I will Give you a Statement of in my Next.

George Beall your Nephew will except of your offer will come to the farm next Spring—I have let it for one year from the first Day of April next.

we have had a very grat flod in the ohio River so that at Lest one 3^d of the Bottoms have been under watter wich has Done grat harm—I have not Lost any of my Railles at your farm but it will take one weeks work for 2 hands to Right up the farms again.

I had got my health torable well again an_ I was Gathering Strength untill the 21^t Day of Last month I had the misfortune to fall from the head of a very Step_ Pare Stairs in wich I had allmost Killed my Self.

I am Gitting some better but I shall Never git over it altogether as I was very much Bruised on my Back and hips.

your Dear Mother wich has been in a very Bad State of health for five months Past but it appears that She is mending a Little and I hope will be Spared a While Longer as a Comfort to me—I hope you will not forgit her in your Next as you Did in your Last

your Sisters and there familys wheare all well the Last time I hered from them.

your Dear Mother joins in love to you and the family—and I Remain

your affectionate father

GEORGE STRICKER

The remaining letters contain the following information: In 1794 Colonel Stricker says he has a "snugg house 18 x 22 feet in this town" (Wheeling) and has been living in it one year. It is worth one hundred pounds. He speaks of "Moses Shepherd" who has brought him from his son materials for a Great Coat and Leggings, and asks that tea and coffee be sent. In 1795 there is a letter dated "Fort Randolph." In 1796 he mentions General Stricker's sister Mary and her brother-in-law "Baszle." In June of same year he says Ningan Bell and wife Mary send compliments. In January 1796 (in his own handwriting) he says he has been appointed "Collector of Revenue" for this District (Wheeling).

In 1805 he has made his will leaving Archibald Woods, Esq., and his grandson George Beall (23 years of age) his executors. He says that his daughter Mary's daughter Mary has married a Mr. Henry Harriman, son of George Harriman formerly of Baltimore County. His daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, live in Brooke County, Virginia, now West Virginia. In a letter dated McMechen's Bottom, August 17, 1805, he speaks of having written to William McMechen of Baltimore and of receiving an answer. McMechen's Bottom is probably the antecedent of the present McMechen, a town on the Ohio River south of Wheeling. In a letter dated McMechen's Bottom, June 24, 1805, he tells of travelling with his wife to the head waters of the Miami and Scioto Rivers and says they visited all of his wife's daughters.

His grandson, John Stricker, Jr. (d. s. p.), has written:

As I was entering the mail stage on the Ohio, having forgotten something, it was necessary to call my name aloud, on hearing which one of the passengers, a middle aged clergyman, learning who I was, informed me that his first sermon was preached in commemoration of the character and services of my grandfather. Indeed, from what I could gather, he was respected and honored by the community in which he moved, in a particular manner, as well in Virginia where he died, as in Maryland where a great part of his life was spent. The Virginia papers near his residence published a long obituary which I have seen but have mislaid.

BOOK REVIEWS

Jamestown and St. Mary's, Buried Cities of Romance. By HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. 355 pp. \$4.50.

In this book Mr. Forman presents the results of the latest excavations at the sites of Jamestown and St. Mary's City, adding sufficient historical information to provide an adequate background for his reconstruction of these early capitals.

To us, who appreciate the importance of these settlements as the beginnings of a great nation, it seems appropriate to call them "Buried Cities of Romance," but it is doubtful if "Romance" would have been the word chosen by the original settlers who suffered such great privations, and often violent deaths, in their efforts to establish a footing in a wilderness.

It is to be expected that considerably more than half this book should be devoted to Jamestown since the author, as chief architect of the Jamestown Archaeological Project of the U. S. Department of the Interior, had other trained workers associated with him there, while at St. Mary's City he had to rely entirely on his own efforts for new archaeological explorations. Indeed, he points out that "a couple of dozen Jamestown foundations have been uncovered, but only five have been excavated in the Maryland Capital. While this work seeks to compare the towns, the comparison will be unfair to St. Mary's until the remains of the Governor's Castle, chief building at St. Mary's, are known."

Although the reader with only a general interest in the subject of this book might wish that the author had, at times, drawn more clearly the lines separating his historical, archaeological and conjectural material, yet there are at least two chapters against which such a reader would not raise this point; one, entitled "The Two Fruitful Sisters," tells of "those characters and personalities which went by water back and forth between both towns . . . winding the thread of history about both provinces and both cities"; the other, the last chapter, entitled "A Simultaneous Fate" shows that it was the same man, Sir Francis Nicholson, who administered the mortal blows that led to the abandonment of both Jamestown and St. Mary's City.

But the particularly valuable feature of this volume is the series of restorations made by the author. The map of Jamestown on the front end papers, and that of St. Mary's City on the back end papers, are invaluable for elucidating the text, while the drawings of plans and elevations, based on contemporary descriptions and on the foundations so far uncovered, suggest very simply and convincingly the probable forms of the early buildings of these two unfortunate towns.

Heretofore the most complete picture of Maryland's first capital was to be found in *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* by James Walter Thomas. It is interesting to compare the plan of St. Mary's found in that book with the one in this. Mr. Forman has revised and amplified Mr. Thomas' lay-out, giving references to the original sources on which he bases his conclusions; indeed his entire work is carefully documented.

Anyone wishing to see other examples of the early buildings of St. Mary's

should consult Addison Worthington's *Twelve Old Houses West of Chesapeake Bay*, Boston, 1918; Swepson Earle's *The Chesapeake Bay Country*, Baltimore, 1923, and the author's *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland*, published during the State's tercentenary year.

LAURENCE HALL FOWLER.

Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland. By RAPHAEL SEMMES, LL. B., Ph. D. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. viii, 334 pp. \$3.

Those who depend on romantic literature, attractive prints, and high sounding political addresses for knowledge of life in the Colonial period gain the impression that existence in that early day was easy going, liberal, without extreme formality, and lacked class distinction. But fact overcomes fiction, and the reader of Dr. Semmes' *Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland*, will find that his illusions are awakened to stern realities of the time, for the volume gives not a romantic but a thorough and factual account of life of our ancestors in Proprietary Maryland.

Those who held the high office of governor, councillor, burgess or judge maintained their station with great dignity and promptly called to account, and often punished, those colonists guilty of infractions thereof. Laws also were enacted rigorously regulating the individual's personal conduct with the kind of punishment which, in our civilization, would be condemned by any court as "cruel and unusual." Last but not least there existed the superstitions of the time, which with all the rest affords the author full warrant to adopt the quotation

Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn.

Cecil Calvert, early in Colonial days, required his officers to wear some distinctive "habit, medal or otherwise," so they would stand apart "from the rest of the people," and judges were obliged to wear their "ribbon and medal" on court day on pain of fine. With dignity imposed upon them it followed that the Colonial Marylander who criticised government officers must of necessity be prepared to assume the consequences of his act. So, in the opening chapter "The Majesty of the Law," it is recorded that the commander of the good ship *Golden Fortune* was arrested and compelled to explain before the Provincial Court the charge of "sundry contemptuous and scandalous words uttered by him against his Lordship's rule and government." To call an assemblyman a "factious fellow" required "humble submission" to the house and apology to the offended member. And one who "threatened, menaced and cursed" the delegates was ordered whipped with twenty lashes "by the hand of the common hangman," while another who referred to members of the lower house as "pitiful rogues and puppets" received thirty-nine lashes for his opinion, the delegates declining his excuse that he was drunk on the occasion. Obviously there did not exist in that early time our present right to speak freely of officers of government. Judges punished for contempt in their presence, but could indulge a pleasantry, as witness that citizen being permitted to go hence on promise to amend his conduct, though somewhat intoxicated he appeared at court insisting "he had come to drink a bowl of punch with the judges." All this and more is told,

backed by a wealth of bibliography, in chapters on trial and punishment; housing and clothing; servant discipline; drunkenness; profanity; slander; witchcraft; sickness, chirurgery and burials.

Strict regulation of conduct was the order of the day, and if existing law failed to produce better behavior the remedy was more law, sounding very like the present. It was a time when theft above twenty-five cents, as well as bigamy and witchcraft, might be punished with death, and perjury by being nailed by the ears to the pillory. Methods of punishment varied, but the usual form seemed public whipping for man or woman, but, class distinction existing, no such indignity could be inflicted on a "gentleman." Servants stealing from their masters for a first offense were sentenced to thirty stripes, and for a second branded with the letter "R"; branding with the letter "H" with whipping was the penalty for hog stealing. There were the stocks for drunkards, with the ducking stool for those deserving that experience. It was a day, also, when one person was pardoned from the sentence of death on condition he serve as "common hangman"; and a convicted felon might escape death by claiming "benefit of clergy"—a privilege extended to those who could read and adopted from the practice of the Ecclesiastical Court where the death penalty could not be inflicted; escaping death, however, the felon must suffer branding. There existed, too, the superstition that a murdered body would bleed if touched by the murderer, and suspects were often subjected to such a test. Suicides were denied a Christian burial, and their goods forfeit to the Crown. There was rank discrimination in punishment, and often the man would escape and the woman be whipped for a similar offense. The pages describing the harsh and sometimes cruel treatment of servants by some masters leaves one with a feeling hardly short of revolt, but there is perhaps the consolation of knowing that at least two masters suffered the extreme penalty for cruelty resulting in death of their servants. Such was only part of the life in Seventeenth Century Maryland, and much more awaits the reader of the book.

Many informative references appear: running of the first horse race in Talbot County in 1672; the classification of surgeons with "artificers and laborers" for licensing purposes; the establishment of "ordinaries," with regulation of charges by the landlord for man or beast. Heavy drinking and much drunkenness existed, but even the strictness of the time did not suggest prohibition as a remedy. Indeed, one coming into the Colony was advised to bring rum and brandy.

Like the author's first volume, *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland*, the value of the present work is not only in its splendid contribution to Maryland's early customs of law and manners, but also in the care and thoroughness of its preparation and research.

CHARLES C. WALLACE.

The History of Goucher College. By ANNA HEUBECK KNIPP and THADDEUS P. THOMAS. Baltimore: Goucher College, 1938. x, 659 pp. \$3.

It would be difficult to find two better informed authors for this chronicle of Goucher's fifty years. Mrs. Knipp, Secretary to the Board of Trustees, was president of the first graduating class, in 1892, while Dr. Thomas served the college from his appointment as Instructor of History, in 1892, until his death in 1936.

Their account naturally centers around the great personalities who, since its founding by the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1888, as the Women's College of Baltimore City, have made Goucher one of our leading colleges for women. Dr. Hopkins, first president, who, by inclination a teacher, nevertheless selected a superior faculty, organized a heterogeneous group of students, and established curricula which, by 1890, had placed the school in the first rank of women's colleges; President Goucher, creator and early financial bulwark, who perfected the organization and established it soundly in all except finances, which even his generous contributions could not stabilize; President Noble, who analyzed the financial problem and revealed the exigency; President Guth, who averted financial catastrophe, increased enrollment, and developed the college plant; President Robertson, who, through depression years, has developed the New Plan, secured increased publicity, and utilized to the utmost the present plant, never forgetting "Greater Goucher," still in the future—all these are Goucher; these and others, notably Mrs. Goucher, Dr. Van Meter, who phrased the aim of the school, "the formation of womanly character for womanly ends," and Dr. Froelicher, to whom Goucher is greatly indebted for her high cultural standards and her progressiveness.

The authors display justifiable family pride in Goucher's achievements: her pioneering in physical education, political science, and vocational guidance for women; her weathering of the financial crises in 1913 and 1921-1929; her stand for academic freedom; and her generally high standards. Their personal knowledge of their subject results in an intimate, extremely interesting chronicle, lacking somewhat, however, that objective judgment which characterizes the professional historian; and also provides a plethora of detail, which, though often appearing trivial to the disinterested reader, must induce a delightful nostalgia in the hearts of Goucher's daughters.

W. BIRD TERWILLIGER.

Colonial and Historic Homes of Maryland. . . . One Hundred Original Etchings. By DON SWANN, with Descriptive Text by DON SWANN, JR. Baltimore: Etchcrafters Art Guild, 1939. Two volumes. \$200.

There is something a bit startling about the appearance of Mr. Don Swann's two sumptuous volumes just at this time. Are they ghosts from the boom days of a decade ago, or the presage of flush times just around the corner? At any rate, here they are, the grandiose culmination of all the books that have been written on Maryland's old houses—a century of signed etchings, each with an accompanying page of text by Mr. Don Swann, Jr. They are presented to the world in the grand manner. Every canon of *de luxe* publication is observed; there are great sheets of creamy paper, lordly margins, lists of patrons and subscribers, introduction following introduction. It is the last word, uttered with emphasis.

A work so spaciously conceived, on which such an appalling amount of toil has obviously been spent engenders humility in the reviewer, who feels that to do the subject justice he should be a first-rate art critic, an authority

on Maryland architecture, history and genealogy, and a typographical expert all in one. The present writer, having no such qualifications, falls back on wondering how Mr. Swann's *magnum opus* should be classified. Is it primarily for the ornate shelves of rich men's libraries? One dismisses this thought as unworthy. Can it be regarded as a book of reference for architects? Only to a limited extent; Mr. Swann's draughtsmanship is excellent when his heart is in his work, but when his interest fails (as it deplorably did in "Homewood" and the Hammond-Harwood House, to mention two examples) the mysteries of mass and proportion elude him. Will it quicken the circulation of artists and those who understand the subtleties of etching? Very often, but not always.

All of this could have been said more tersely by summing up Mr. Swann's work as uneven—and how inevitably! That is the inherent weakness of these great "stunts" that artists occasionally set themselves, in violation of their true natures. In this connection one thinks of that super-stunt, Audubon's *Birds of America*, and the fluctuation of those innumerable plates between genius and banality. It could not possibly be argued, however, that Audubon's work was not worth doing, and by the same token Mr. Swann's book, in its more limited way, is definitely worth while. One emerges from a quiet and careful examination of it with a sense of a trip to pleasant places taken in the company of an understanding guide; and it is good to think that as fire and calamity inevitably overtake these old Maryland houses the essential mood of many of them will live on in Mr. Swann's etchings. This justifies the work as fully as if it were an architectural or historical work of reference.

The value of the illustrations rather than that of the text is emphasized, and with good reason. It is impossible to check up on all the statements of Mr. Don Swann, Jr. but in certain cases there are inaccuracies. Names are spelled wrong (trifles that are not trifles), and the family ghosts, centenarian negresses and bricks-made-in-England are once more trotted out. After many years of Garden Club pilgrimages and roseate library romanticizing, the public is getting more exacting and hard-bitten about such matters.

GILMAN PAUL.

NOTES AND QUERIES

The new dress in which the *Magazine* appears with this number, the first change of garb in thirty-three years, has been designed under the direction of Mr. Norman T. A. Munder of Baltimore, one of the distinguished typographers of America, who has generously given the Society of the fruits of his talent and long experience.

Original Manuscript of Mallarmé's Tribute to Poe. Dr. E. Carnet-Noulet, of the University of Brussels, is in hopes of finding, in Baltimore, the manuscript of Stephane Mallarmé's "Le Tombeau d'Edgar Poe," a sonnet written in honor of the unveiling of Poe's tomb and published in Sara Sigourney Rice's *Edgar Allan Poe Memorial Volume*, Baltimore, Turnbull Bros., 1877. The disposition of Miss Rice's papers is not known. Information concerning this important manuscript will be gratefully received by Richard Hart, of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, who will transmit it to Dr. Carnet-Noulet.

Wanted: Parents and other ancestors of William Wilkins of Annapolis, elected church warden of St. Ann's Parish, 1738 (Refs.: Wills, Liber 31, fo. 216 and 39, fo. 839; Accounts 56, fo. 162). He married (St. Ann's Parish records), April 19, 1735, Deborah (Maccubbin) Palmer, widow of Nathaniel Palmer and daughter of John Maccubbin and Anne Howard. Had five children, among whom his "son and heir" (St. Ann's baptism record) was William Wilkins, who married Sarah Conant, Sept. 28, 1765.

Eleanor B. Wilkins Cooch (Mrs. Edward Webb Cooch),
Cooch's Bridge, Newark, Del.

Adam Hudson fought in the Revolutionary War and was wounded at the siege of Yorktown and later died from the wounds. Can any one supply data on Adam Hudson? Do you have any records on the See or Cobbs families?

W. J. See,
6056 McPherson Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

Can anyone give me information concerning the Mary Hurst who married Jesse Hoshal in Harford County, Md., Dec. 22, 1779, and later lived in Baltimore County, Md.?

(Miss) Sarah Hoshall,
1351 Springdale Rd., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

I wish to know the name of any living American descendant of Sir Robert Eden, last Colonial Governor of Maryland, and his wife, Caroline Calvert?

(Mrs. Wm. M.) Jean Bullitt Darlington,
Pomona Hill, West Chester, Pa.

Wanted: Parents of John Howard, b. Dec. 1, 1780, Kent County, Del., m. Martha McCracken, 29 May 1802 (Cecil Co. records). The estate of Abner Howard, Kent Co., Del., was administered, May 5, 1800, by his widow Elizabeth Howard (later m. Caleb Libby). The heirs were John, Joseph and Mary. Would like to get in touch with descendants of Abner Howard and prove parentage of John Howard.

John Paul Howard,
217 Santa Clara Avenue, Dayton, Ohio.

Johan Peter Putterbach, immigrant, landed at Philadelphia, Sept. 15, 1752. French and Indian War soldier. Where did he settle in Maryland? Would like family record of his children, names, etc.

Dr. W. S. Butterbaugh,
Howard, Colorado.

Wanted: Parentage and precise date of marriage of Ann Bruce of Maryland. She married James McCoy c. 1750.

Elizabeth Hayward (Mrs. Sumner Hayward),
224 Richards Road, Ridgewood, New Jersey.

Wanted: The date of service in the War of 1812 of Major Richard Ireland Jones who enlisted in Maryland. If this complete information is not obtainable can someone give me date of enlistment?

Mrs. W. E. Althausen,
Haverford Rd., Nashville, Tennessee.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

December 12, 1938. The regular meeting of the Society was called to order by Acting President Radcliffe. The following were elected to membership:

Mrs. Arthur F. Armstrong.	Mr. David Norman McCullough.
Mrs. Harry Guy Campbell.	Mr. Oscar Wood McCleary.
George W. Fogg, Ph. D.	Mr. Edward D. Martin.
Mr. Norman Bentley Gardiner	Elizabeth Merritt, Ph. D.
Mr. W. Hall Harris, Jr.	Miss Alice E. Miller.
Admiral T. Holliday Hicks.	Mrs. Donald Symington.
Mr. Carl W. Hintz.	Miss Bertha M. Talbott.
Miss Estelle S. Walters.	

The death on September 12, 1938 of Mr. Wilbur W. Hubbard, a member, was reported.

Mr. John T. Rogers who was introduced by Mr. Douglas Gordon, gave an interesting paper, "President Lincoln, Governor Hicks and the Union."

January 16, 1939. The following named persons, previously nominated, were elected to membership:

Active:

Mrs. Marshall Wilson.	Miss Nina Lee.
Adj. Gen. Milton A. Reckord.	Mr. Frank J. Baldwin.
Hon. Allan Cleveland.	Mr. W. W. Finney.
Mr. David C. Winebrenner.	Mr. John Baylor.
Mr. Charles W. Bibb.	Mr. Louis Zimmerman.
Dr. Alan M. Chesney.	

Associate:

Mrs. Horace K. T. Sherwood.

Dr. Matthew Page Andrews presented some letters concerning a brick, presented to the Society some years ago, found in Ferryland, Newfoundland, the settlement of Lord Baltimore.

The deaths of the following members were reported:

- Rev. Arsenius Boyer, January 1, 1939.
- Rev. Arthur C. Carty, November 29, 1937.
- Rev. Alward Chamberlaine, October 18, 1938.
- Mr. A. C. Veatch, December 24, 1938.

Nominations were made for the officers of the Society to be voted upon at the Annual Meeting in February.

Mr. Gordon introduced as speaker Mr. Nathan Starr, of Williamstown, Mass., who gave an interesting paper entitled, "George IV, and Public Opinion, with Observations on Royal Marriages in the 18th and 19th Centuries."

February 13, 1939. At a regular meeting of the Society the following donations were reported: An ivory plaque of the late Miss Eleanor S. Cohen, artist, Boris Schatz of the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts of Jerusalem; the gift of Dr. and Mrs. Julius Friedenwald. A mahogany chest of drawers, over eight feet high, from the collection of Miss Eleanor S. Cohen, given by her executors, Dr. Julius Friedenwald and Mr. Samuel J. Fisher.

The following were elected to membership:

Mrs. Henry C. Foster.	Rev. Carroll E. Harding.
Mr. Nelson B. Lasson.	Mr. Edward Gross.
Mr. John Henry Scarff.	Mr. L. Manuel Hendler.
Mr. Alexander C. Brown.	Mr. Robert H. Baldwin.
Mr. J. Bruce Kremer.	Miss Bertha Coblens Joseph.

Upon motion of Colonel Harrison Tilghman, Captain Anthony Eden of England was elected an honorary member of the Society.

The decease of the following members was reported:

Mr. John Pleasants, January 22, 1939.

Mr. Norman James, January 24, 1939.

Carl Swisher, Ph. D., of Johns Hopkins University, read a paper entitled: "Roger Brooke Taney and the Tenets of Democracy."

ANNUAL MEETING.

February 13, 1939. The Annual Meeting of the Society was called to order with Acting President Radcliffe in the chair. There being no contest for the various offices and standing committees, the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot for the following persons, thereby duly elected:

President.

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE.

Vice-Presidents.

J. HALL PLEASANTS.

SAMUEL K. DENNIS.

LAURENCE HALL FOWLER.

Corresponding Secretary.

WILLIAM B. MARYE.

Recording Secretary.

JAMES E. HANCOCK.

Treasurer.

HEYWARD E. BOYCE.

Trustees of the Athenaeum.

G. CORNER FENHAGEN, *Chairman.*

SUMMERFIELD BALDWIN, JR.

HENRY DUFFY.

THOMAS F. CADWALADER.

C. MORGAN MARSHALL.

CHARLES MCHENRY HOWARD.

*Committee on the Gallery.*GILMAN PAUL, *Chairman.*

JAMES R. HERBERT BOONE. LAWRASON RIGGS.
 R. MCGILL MACKALL.

*Committee on the Library.*LOUIS H. DIELMAN, *Chairman.*

HENRY J. BERKLEY. EDWARD B. MATHEWS.
 JOHN W. GARRETT. JAMES A. ROBERTSON.
 GEORGE HARRISON. A. MORRIS TYSON.

*Committee on Finance.*WILLIAM INGLE, *Chairman.*

WILLIAM G. BAKER, JR. CHARLES E. RIEMAN.

*Committee on Publication.*W. STULL HOLT, *Chairman.*

J. HALL PLEASANTS. RAPHAEL SEMMES.

*Committee on Membership.*MRS. ROBERT F. BRENT, *Chairman.*

ALEXANDER BROWN GRISWOLD. FERDINAND C. LATROBE.
 JOHN EAGER HOWARD OF B. JOHN P. PACA, JR.
 MACGILL JAMES. MARSHALL WINCHESTER.

*Committee on Addresses and Literary Entertainment.*DOUGLAS GORDON, *Chairman.*

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD. B. HOWELL GRISWOLD, JR.

The annual report of the Council was read by Mr. Radcliffe, who stated that the individual reports of the Committees would be printed in the *Magazine*.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

This is an annual report of the Maryland Historical Society as provided for in our constitution and by-laws. I am submitting the special reports from the treasurer and the chairmen of the various committees of the Maryland Historical Society activities during the past year. It is quite apparent that our Society has functioned in many ways very satisfactorily during 1938 in spite of the fact that our income and certain other facilities have been inadequate. Our treasurer and our finance committee have handled our investments wisely but we should find ways and means of increasing our revenue.

Our study should, I think, go beyond matters of finances merely. After the Maryland Historical Society was organized nearly one hundred years ago, it became quickly the center of many activities in this state. Since then other organizations have been formed which are exercising among other activities, some of the functions which had been assumed by the Maryland Historical Society in the early days of its existence. These later formed organizations

have grown in strength and are of inestimable value to Maryland. Some of these institutions are the following: Peabody Institute, Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore Museum of Art, Walters Art Gallery, Hall of Records, Maryland Academy of Sciences, The Johns Hopkins University and other educational institutions; various religious and patriotic organizations etc., etc. With all these institutions the Maryland Historical Society is working in a spirit of friendly co-operation along varying lines.

I am not suggesting that the Maryland Historical Society take on any new activities or surrender any of the ones in which it is now engaged but it is quite possible that a general survey of the local situation might lead to more active and practical methods of co-operation with some of these other institutions and possibly in some cases might help to avoid unnecessary duplication or over-lapping.

I believe also that there has never been any comprehensive survey showing the location of historical books, manuscripts and other material in Maryland. We know that our state is unusually rich in historical data. Decided advantages would result to these institutions, to our citizens and also to our visitors if we could know better what materials we really have in Maryland and where they are. Of course both a survey and a compilation of its results would have to be very general and incomplete.

Our patriotic societies in Maryland continue to give serious and helpful thought to matters of history. Our relations with these societies are very friendly. It is possible that these relations may be strengthened with those societies without our going in any way contrary to the precedents of our Society or counter in anywise to the very generous gift of the late Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser to whose generosity we are indebted for our present useful and beautiful home.

A very distinguished Marylander who is a member of the Society and was for many years a professor of history in one of the large universities of our country has recently become attached in a very important official capacity to the Library of Congress. I chance to be a member of the Library Committee of the United States Senate. He is keenly interested in our Society and is desirous of being helpful to us. I have reference to Dr. St. George Leakin Sioussat. It is quite possible that Dr. Sioussat and in fact the Library of Congress would take an interest in surveys somewhat along the lines which I have suggested and might also help to secure such studies.

For instance, our collection of historical data is very large in value and it is regarded by authorities as being an outstanding one. Frequently we receive additions to it but I think we should be more active in trying to locate and to secure new material. We need money to put our historical materials in more suitable arrangement and to provide better opportunities for access to them. I should not attempt any hazard as to the value of the assets of the historical materials of the Maryland Historical Society. Undoubtedly the figure runs into millions of dollars. Many of our items are without duplicates and really can not be valued.

This is not the place to make an extended statement as to the purposes and uses of the Maryland Historical Society. I merely want at this moment to emphasize one matter quite well known: It is this, the historical materials of the Maryland Historical Society afford interest and pleasure to many people. They also have many practical uses in numerous ways.

Mrs. Brent, her associates on the membership committee and other members of the Society have been diligent and successful in securing new members and I feel that all of us should endeavor to assist Mrs. Brent and her committee in their efforts. I think that we should encourage the creation of new life-memberships in addition to the adoption of other methods of increasing the amount of our investments.

I have another suggestion along those lines. Several Marylanders who are now living outside of the state have upon my suggestion joined our Society in the belief that the Maryland Historical Society afforded a very desirable connecting link for them with Maryland. As we know, there are Maryland societies located in New York, Washington and various other places in the country. I have suggested to the officials of some of these societies that they co-operate with us in securing new members and additional historical data and I believe they will help us.

I will follow up these comments with more specific points a little later on and I would indeed be very grateful at any time for any suggestions and criticisms.

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, *President*.

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENAEUM.

I beg to submit herewith report of the Trustees of the Athenaeum for the calendar year 1938.

The budget allowance for the year was \$2,000.00 and we have actually expended during the year for the various items listed below a total of \$1,974.50, leaving a balance of \$25.50.

In addition to usual items of maintenance covered by the budget, the Chairman of the Trustees and Mr. Laurence Fowler were appointed by the Council a Special Committee to undertake extensive changes in the roofs of the Library and Gallery, and in the lighting of these two rooms. These alterations are now under way and will be completed in the next two or three months.

The following is a detailed statement of budget expenditures during 1938:

Budget allowance	\$2,000.00
Expenditures:	
A. D. T. Alarm Service.....	\$427.20
Repairs	349.80
Fuel	553.50
Insurance	187.13
Light	275.22
Water Rent.....	27.40
Supplies	58.26
Miscellaneous	95.99
	<hr/>
	1,974.50
Balance.....	<hr/> \$ 25.50

Respectfully submitted,

G. CORNER FENHAGEN, *Chairman*.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY.

During the past year the Gallery was repainted and the pictures rehung. On the third floor two rooms were rearranged. In the larger room were placed most of the Society's models and pictures of ships, and in the smaller one a number of the pictures bequeathed to the Society by Henry Oliver Thompson. The addition of a case to the Cohen Room made it possible to accommodate all the objects of this interesting collection within the room itself.

The Society cooperated with the Baltimore Museum of Art in its "Maryland in the Patriotic Tradition" exhibition, and with the Municipal Museum's exhibition of "Landscapes."

The following objects were presented to the Society during the year 1938:

Portrait by LeClear of Margaret Randall, daughter of Christopher and Eleanor Carey Randall, b. 1782; d. 1872; mar. Wm. Evans, 1807.

Gift of Walter Devereux Evans.

Print of Ellicott's Mills. Sachse, Baltimore, 1854.

Gift of Walter Devereux Evans.

Miniature by Charles M. Dennis, of Boston, of Ellen Douglas Jamison (Mrs. Baldwin).

Gift of her son, Francis J. Baldwin.

Painting (on a fire screen) of the Governor's Mansion in Annapolis before the recent alterations.

Gift of Mrs. J. L. Dulany.

French silver coffee pot presented to William Short, while Ambassador to France, by Napoleon's brother, Joseph Bonaparte.

Gift of Miss Richardson of Louisville, Kentucky, the great-grand niece of William Short.

Mrs. Edgar Browning, the granddaughter of Andrew Ellicott, of Ellicott's Mills, presented the following articles to the Society: 1 large oriental rug; 1 prayer rug; three chairs; nine wine jelly glasses; one glass mug; silver mug; silver sugar tongs; two silver tablespoons; all pieces of the Ellicott and Fairman families (Mrs. Andrew Ellicott was a Miss Fairman).

Various miscellaneous contributions of medals, badges and photographs were made to the Society's collections.

Respectfully submitted,

LAURENCE HALL FOWLER, *Chairman*.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

Your Committee reports that during the past year the gifts from members and friends of the Society have been numerous, valuable and diversified. No funds for the purchase of books or manuscripts having been available for allocation to this Committee we have been dependent on the generosity of friends; and as no funds were to be disposed of there have been no formal meetings of the Committee. However, the Committee has not been inactive. Much service has been rendered through the solicitation of gifts, supplying

information in answer to difficult questions, and in filming and photostating rare items, for the Society and for sister institutions. We have filmed the Marriage License Records of the Baltimore Record Office, covering the period from 1778 to 1850.

Our entire collection of rare and valuable Broad-sides have been filmed for the National Bibliographic project, and when published will secure for us an honorable place among outstanding Broad-side Collections.

Through the generous gift of the National Society Daughters of Founders and Patriots, our collection of manuscript Maryland Militia lists have been photostated and are to be indexed and bound.

There have been added to the permanent collection: 169 bound volumes, 66 pamphlets, 133 manuscripts, 15 maps, 5 genealogical charts, 6 Broad-sides and 230 pieces of sheet music from local publishers, ranging in date from 1796 to 1865.

A partial list of donors follows: Charles Steuart Gantt, Karl A. M. Scholtz, Louis H. Dielman, Francis Neale Parke, Mrs. J. Frank Parran, William B. Marye, Louis Dow Scisco, A. Russell Slagle, J. Hall Pleasants, M. D., Robert S. Franklin, Henry R. Evans, H. Cavendish Darrell, William P. Kelly, Miss Ruth Monroe, George Sanfield Macdonald, Mrs. James T. Eliason, Mrs. Paul E. Miller, Mrs. Emma D. Price, Henry Randolph Latimer, John Andrew Marsteller, Francis E. Old, Jr., Mrs. David A. Ralston, Robert L. Swain, Jr., Miss Jane James Cook, Mrs. S. L. Little, J. W. Dean, Frank J. Baldwin, George C. Keidel, Charles E. Rieman, Mrs. Thomas C. Jenkins, Sherman Weld Tracy, James W. Hook, Edgar J. Bullard, Mrs. Samuel C. Emory, Mrs. Herbert Rush Preston, Charles D. Carroll, Eugene F. McPike, H. Burton Shipley, Elizabeth Chew Williams, Miss Katharine Cradock, O. H. Cory, Jr., John Carroll Stow, Mrs. Edward W. Digges, Charles O. Clemson, Mrs. Louis Bulkley, Raphael Semmes, Robert M. Torrence, George Morgan Knight, Jr.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUIS H. DIELMAN, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

No volumes of the *Archives of Maryland* appeared during the year. The next volume, which like its predecessors is being edited by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, is in page proof and should be issued early in 1939.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* was published regularly during the year. The resignation of Mr. Louis H. Dielman, after so many years of faithful and successful service as editor of the *Magazine*, confronted your Committee with a serious problem. It was happily solved by the appointment of Mr. James W. Foster, a member of the Society, who assumed editorial direction of the *Magazine* in March.

The following is a statement of the cost of publication of the *Magazine*:

Budget allowance.....	\$1,750.00
Credits	456.54
	<hr/>
	\$2,206.54
Printing (four issues).....	\$1,645.58
Postage (distribution four issues).....	62.66
Editor	200.00
Miscellaneous	180.56
	<hr/>
	\$2,088.80

Respectfully submitted,

W. STULL HOLT, *Chairman*.

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE.

January 1st, 1938:

Life members.....	19
Active members.....	997
Associate members	141
	<hr/>
	1157

New members, 1938:

Active members.....	68
Associate members	18
	<hr/>
	86
	<hr/>
	1243

15 Active and 5 Associate members elected during the year have not accepted and paid, although they are added in the total with the hope that they will do so.

Members lost during 1938:

Died	34
Resigned	24
Dropped	22
	<hr/>
	80
	<hr/>
	1163

December 31st, 1938:

Life members.....	18
Active members	1001
Associate members	144
	<hr/>
	1163

Net increase for year 1938, 6 new members.

Respectfully submitted,

ALICE HARRIS BRENT, *Chairman*.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES.

I have the honor to submit as the report of the Lecture Committee a list of the dates and titles of lectures given at the meetings of the Society during the year 1938.

January 10—Paper prepared by Mrs. Anna Howell Kennedy Findlay, and read by B. Howell Griswold, Jr., Esq., entitled: "Where the Captain was Found."

February 14—"Legends of Baltimore," paper by Sidney L. Nyburg, Esq.

March 14—"The Baltimore That Used to Be," illustrated talk by Francis E. Old, Jr., Esq.

April 11—"Sketch of General William H. Winder from His Admission to the Bar Until His Arrival on the Niagara Frontier," paper by Ralph Robinson, Esq.

May 9—"Early Maryland Portraits and their Painters," illustrated talk by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants.

October 10—"A True Likeness of George Washington?", illustrated talk by Frederick Foster, Esq., of the Boston Bar.

November 14—"The Sherley Brothers—An Account of Three Elizabethan Adventurers of the Type that First Settled This Country," talk by Boies Penrose, Esq., of Philadelphia.

December 12—"President Lincoln, Governor Hicks and the Union," a paper by John T. Rodgers, Esq., of Washington.

With great deference to long standing custom, I take the liberty of suggesting that the lectures would be more largely attended, and the important function of the Society of diffusing knowledge about history would be more fully accomplished therefore, if the formal activities which precede the lecture were diminished.

In a historical society having twelve hundred members, there is no longer any need of the elaborate provisions for black-balling candidates nor even for the calling out of names of nominees, or even of new members. The often lengthy obituary lists, I should likewise suggest, might be omitted. The reading of the minutes seems to me likewise to be unnecessary.

The announcement of gifts as a form of expressing the gratitude of the Society, the reports of committees, and announcements by the presiding official, together with occasional remarks from the floor, would seem to me to be the only necessary activities in addition to the lecture.

I feel sure that more than the usual handful of our twelve hundred members would be present if the meetings were less prolonged.

Respectfully submitted,

DOUGLAS H. GORDON, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

Balance on hand January 1, 1938..... \$1,039.62

RECEIPTS.

Dues from members.....	\$5,015.00
Income Peabody Fund.....	862.50
Income other than Peabody Fund.....	2,417.50
Income Athenaeum Fund.....	3,729.02
Income Audubon Fund.....	210.00
Investigation and Searches.....	21.00
Confederate Relics.....	50.00
Publication Committee.....	133.67
Library Committee.....	67.45
Magazine Account.....	324.37
General Account.....	615.08

Securities:

\$5,000 Baltimore City 4's, due Oct. 1937.....	5,000.00
1,000 Baltimore City 4's, due May 1938.....	1,000.00
5,000 Calvert Co. Rd. Bonds due July 1938.....	5,000.00
7% Distribution on \$2,000.00 Mortgage Security Corp. Series "B" in Liquidation.....	140.00
	<u>24,585.59</u>

\$25,625.21

EXPENDITURES.

General Account:

Salaries.....	\$5,472.18
Trustees.....	1,974.50
Office.....	256.91
Treasurer.....	130.11
Address Committee.....	8.00
Special.....	350.41
General.....	1,360.64
	<u>\$9,552.75</u>
Magazine Account.....	1,631.58
Library Committee.....	1,483.87
Publication Committee.....	450.22
Securities Purchased (See Investment Account).....	11,174.55
	<u>24,292.97</u>

Balance on hand December 31, 1938..... \$ 1,332.24

STATE OF MARYLAND—ARCHIVES ACCOUNT.

Balance on hand January 1, 1938..... \$5,721.16

RECEIPTS.

State of Maryland.....	\$580.04	
General	187.00	
	<u>767.04</u>	
		\$6,488.20

EXPENDITURES.

General Archives	\$ 583.85	
Balance on hand December 31, 1938.....	<u>\$5,904.35</u>	
State's appropriation for 1938.....	\$4,175.00	
Paid to Society.....		580.04
Paid by State direct to Lord Baltimore Press.....		3,594.96
	<u>\$4,175.00</u>	<u>\$4,175.00</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Uninvested Funds January 1, 1938..... \$ 99.60

CREDITS.

\$5,000.00 Baltimore City 4's Due Oct. 1937.....	\$ 5,000.00	
1,000.00 Baltimore City 4's Due May 1938.....	1,000.00	
5,000.00 Calvert County Rd. Bonds Due July 1938.....	5,000.00	
7% Distribution on \$2,000.00 Mortgage Security Corp. Series "B," in Liquidation.....	140.00	
	<u>11,140.00</u>	
		\$11,239.60

DEBITS.

Securities Purchased:		
\$3,000.00 Amer. Tel. & Tel. Co.		
3¼% Debentures Due 12/1/66.....	\$ 3,077.34	
\$3,000.00 United States Steel.		
3¼% Debentures Due 6/1/48.....	3,001.90	
\$5,000.00 United States Treas.		
2¾% Bonds Due 12/15/65.....	5,095.31	
	<u>11,174.55</u>	
Uninvested Balance December 31, 1938.....	\$ 65.05	

Respectfully submitted,

HEYWARD E. BOYCE, *Treasurer.*

HONORARY MEMBERS

LIFE MEMBERS

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

88

- Baker, Mrs. Allan L. (1938) 348 E. Foster Ave., State College, Penna.
 Baker, Mrs. C. H. (1927) 1080 Arden Rd., Pasadena, Cal.
 Ball, David Haines (1935) 327 E. Sydney Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
 Bell, Alexander H. (1916) 3400 Garfield St., Washington, D. C.
 Bell, Mrs. Louis V. }
 (Annie Megrue) (1930) } 205 West 89th St., N. Y. C.
 Bloom, Mrs. Sarah F. (1929) Vienna, RFD, Va.
 Bosworth, Mrs. Louise P. (1937) Katonoh, N. Y.
 Bouvier, Mrs. Henrietta J. (1919) 580 Park Ave., N. Y. C.
 Britton, Mrs. Winchester (1932) Cranford, N. J.
 Brown, Alexander C. (1939) Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Va.
 Bulkley, Mrs. Caroline (Kemper) }
 (1926) } 1044 Rutherford Ave., Shreveport, La.
 Bullitt, William Marshall (1914) Inter-Southern Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
 Burns, Mrs. Annie Walker (1938) R1, Box 119, Benning Sta., Wash., D. C.
 Carpenter, Mrs. Walter S. (1936) Wilmington, Del.
 Carroll, Mrs. Elizabeth Swann (1931) Fernandina, Florida
 Cecil, Arthur Bond, M. D. (1933) }
 } 1016 Pacific Mutual Bldg.,
 } Los Angeles, Calif.
 Chaney, Mrs. Herbert M. (1936) 2115 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Chew, Major Fielder Bowie (1934) 1910 Biltmore St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Clark, Allen C. (1926) Equitable Bldg., Washington, D. C.
 Cooch, Mrs. Edward W. (1936) Cooch's Bridge, Newark, Delaware
 Cox, Thomas Riggs (1938)
 Curry, Miss Kate S. (1930) 1420 Gerard St., Washington, D. C.
 Davidge, Walter Dorsey (1936) 1826 Eye St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Dean, Joseph William (1934) 17 S. 26th St., Camp Hill, Va.
 Deford, B. Frank (1914) }
 Deford, Mrs. B. Frank (1916) } 608 W. Franklin St., Richmond, Va.
 Dent, Louis Addison (1905) 3300 16th St., Washington, D. C.
 Dent, Magruder (1937) Old Church Rd., Greenwich, Conn.
 Devereux, Walter Evans (1938) 11 Lockwood Drive, Old Greenwich, Conn.
 Dolan, John J. (1934) 1323 30th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Donaldson, John W. (1927) Millbrook, N. Y.
 Dorsey, Vernon M. (1921) 1346 F St., Washington, D. C.
 Edholm, Mrs. Arthur (1938) Gordonsville, Va.
 Eliason, Mrs. James T. (1930) New Castle, Delaware
 Evans, Henry Ridgely (1935) 3300 16th St., Washington, D. C.
 Fisher, Miss Elizabeth J. (1932) All States Hotel, Washington, D. C.
 Forman, Henry Chandlee (1933) Farm-Four-Winds, Ruxton, Md.
 Foster, Frederick (1921) 84 State St., Boston, Mass.
 Franklin, Robert S. (1931) Charleston, W. Va.
 Frazier, Mrs. John (1936) }
 } 8015 Navajo St., Chestnut Hill,
 } Philadelphia, Pa.
 French, Mrs. W. E. Pattison }
 (Evelyn Eva Sutton Weems) (1930) } 3017 N St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Gardner, Frank Williams (1934) 1192 Cleveland Ave., Columbus, O.
 Gardner, Mrs. Philip (1934) 74 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass.
 Gifford, W. L. R. (1906) }
 } St. Louis Mercantile Library
 } Association, Missouri
 Glenn, John M. (1905) 1 Lexington Ave., N. Y. C.
 Goodrich, Thomas M. (1933) Hotel Wellington, Albany, N. Y.
 Goodridge, Mr. Edwin T. (1936) 111 Broadway, N. Y. C.
 Gordon, Mrs. Burgess Lee (1916) 1921 E. Gales St., Seattle, Wash.
 Gordon, Mrs. James Riely (Mary }
 Lamar Sprigg) (1934) } 159 Corliss Ave., Pelham Heights, N. Y.
 Gould, Lyttleton B. P. (1936) 120 Broadway, N. Y. C.
 Greenlaw, Wm. Prescott (1935) 7 Ashburton Place, Boston, Mass.
 Griffiss, Miss Penelope (1936) Hotel Palton, Chattanooga, Tenn.
 Griffith, Major Charles T., U. S. A. }
 Ret. (1934) } 6733 Emlen St., Germantown, Pa.
 Gronemeyer, Mrs. Henry H. (1936) Wawaset Park, Wilmington, Delaware

- Groome, H. C. (1926) Airlie, nr. Warrenton, Va.
 Grove, Mrs. J. R. }
 (Katharine N.) (1934) } 1921 19th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Guilday, Rev. Peter, Ph. D. (1915) Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
 Hager, Frank L. (1921) 204 Spring St., Fayette, Mo.
 Halsey, Mrs. Van Rensselaer (1938) "Briarwood," Rumson, N. J.
 Hamilton, Hon. George E. (1924) Union Trust Bldg., Washington, D. C.
 Hannay, Wm. M. (1936) 207 Eye St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Hanson, Murray (1936) 1010 Vermont Ave., Washington, D. C.
 Hargett, Arthur V., M. D. (1926) 103 Park Ave., N. Y. C.
 Hastings, Mrs. Russel (1925) 230 E. 50th Street, N. Y. C.
 Headman, Mrs. Mary Hoss (1934) Haddonfield, N. J.
 Heyn, Mrs. Walter (Minnie Watkins) (1929) }
 } 8 Holland Terr., Montclair, N. J.
 Hill, John Sprunt (1936) 900 Duke St., Durham, N. C.
 Hillyer, Mrs. Geo. Jr. (1927) 159 15th St., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.
 Himes, Joseph H. (1935) 1705 K St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Hodgdon, A. Dana (1933) }
 } American Consulate General,
 } Berlin, Germany
 Hoffman, Wilmer (1929) }
 } 14 Rue Compagne Premiere,
 } Paris, France
 Holmes, G. Kirby (1937) Drexel Institute, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Hook, James W. (1924) Blake & Vallery Sts, New Haven, Conn.
 Hooker, Roland M. (1933) 352 St. Roman St., New Haven, Conn.
 Hopkins, Samuel Gover (1911) 6th & Walnut Sts., Phila., Pa.
 Horner, Mrs. Harris H. (1936) 6249 S. Throop St., Chicago, Illinois
 Hough, H. C. Tilghman (1925) 180 E. 79th St., N. Y. C.
 Houston, Miss Martha Low (1936) All States Hotel, Washington, D. C.
 Howard, John Paul (1938) 217 Santa Clare Ave., Dayton, Ohio
 Hynson, Richard Washburn (1934) 3435 34th Place, Washington, D. C.
 Jennings, Mrs. Frank E. (1936) 2505 Oak St., Jacksonville, Florida
 Johnson, Mrs. O. M. (1938) 416 Maple Ave., Waynesboro, Va.
 Jones, Mrs. T. Catesby (1929) Hewlett, Long Island
 Jones, Robert C. (1934) Shoreham Bldg., Washington, D. C.
 Keene, Lt. Col. Marcel S. (1935) 1 East 60th St., N. Y. C.
 Keidel, Geo. C., Ph. D. (1912) 414 Seward Square, N. E., Wash., D. C.
 Keith, A. L. (1924) Lock Box W., Vermillion, S. Dakota
 Kelley, J. Thomas, M. D. (1934) 1312 15th St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
 Key, Sewall (1929) University Club, Washington, D. C.
 Kimble, Miss Pearle B. (1921) P. O. Box 36, Tulsa, Oklahoma
 Kraus, Walter M., M. D. (1938) 2400 16th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Kremer, J. Bruce (1939) Tower Bldg., Washington, D. C.
 Kuhn, Miss Florence Calvert (1921) Marmet, W. Va.
 Layton, Mrs. Mary Turpin (1929) 3925 7th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
 Leach, Miss Mary Atherton (1907) 2118 Spruce St., Phila., Pa.
 Lehr, Mrs. Louis (1926) Savoy-Plaza Hotel, N. Y. C.
 Lewis, Clifford, 3rd (1934) 240 S. 4th St., Phila., Pa.
 Libby, George F., M. D. (1933) }
 Libby, Mrs. George F. (1919) }
 (Augusta Maitland Carter) } 913 25th St., San Diego, California
 Livinghouse, F. A. (1938) 1648 Euclid Ave., Lincoln, Neb.
 Lowe, W. Eldridge (1936) 45 Grove St., Boston, Mass.
 Lyden, Frederick F. (1925) 42 Broadway, N. Y. C.
 McAdams, Rev. Edwin P. (1906) 313 2nd St., S. E., Washington, D. C.
 McCarty, Mrs. Ida Helen (1936) Pennville, Indiana
 Magee, D. Frank (1938) York, Penna.
 Maire, Mrs. Gertrude Howard (1936) Pennsboro, West Virginia
 deManduit, Mrs. Priscilla (1936) 2310 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C.
 Manges, Mrs. Willis F. }
 (Marie Elsie Bosley) (1934) } Moylan, Pa.
 Martin, Mrs. Edwin S. (1905) New Straitsville, Ohio
 Massey, George V., 2nd (1937) 55 King St., Dover, Del.

Metten, J. F. (1936).....	N. Y. Shipbldg. Corp., Camden, N. J.
Middleton, Arthur Price (1939).....	12 E. 97th St., N. Y. C.
Miller, Richard Bateman (1935).....	865 1st Ave., New York City
Miller, William Alexander (1932).....	911 Monroe St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
Mills, Mrs. Ballinger (1934).....	2908 Ave. O., Galveston, Texas
Mish, Mrs. W. F., Jr. (1936).....	Falling Waters, West Virginia
Mohler, Mrs. V. E. (1921).....	St. Albans, W. Va.
Montgomery, Mrs. Kingsley (1931).....	Chester, Penna.
Morgan, Mrs. Cole E. (1938).....	Brighton Hotel, Washington, D. C.
Moss, James E. (1938).....	219 E. Gowen Ave., Phila., Pa.
Newman, Harry Wright (1932).....	1026 16th St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
Nicklin, Col. Benjamin Patten (1921) {	720 James Blvd., Signal Mountain, Tennessee
Nicodemus, F. Courtney, Jr. (1902)...	Smithtown Branch, Long Island, N. Y.
O'Brien, John (1937).....	2204 Decatur Place, Washington, D. C.
Oursler, Miss Mary C. (1921)..... {	1415 Longfellow St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Page, Mrs. Henry, Jr. (1919).....	4043 Prescott St., Dallas, Texas
Price, Mrs. Florence A. (1934).....	100 Maryland Ave., N. E. Wash., D. C.
Ranck, Samuel H. (1898).....	Public Library, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Reese, Dr. Charles Lee (1930).....	1600 Brinckle Ave., Wilmington, Del.
Reid, Mrs. C. R. (1928).....	Newtonville, Mass.
Reid, Legh Wilber (1923).....	Box 151, Haverford, Penna.
Renshaw, Mrs. Alfred H. (1927).....	Noroton, Connecticut
Rinehart, Evan (1935).....	72 Ivy Way, Port Washington, N. Y.
Roberson, H. C. (1936).....	1218 E. Capitol St., Washington, D. C.
Roberts, Emerson B., M. D. (1932).....	Wilkinsburg, Penna.
Rogers, Col. Arthur C. (1920).....	5 Radcliff Rd., Belle Haven, Alexandria, Va.
*Roszel, Major Brantz Mayer (1919)...	Shenandoah Valley Academy, Winchester, Va.
Ruth, Thos. DeCoursey (1916).....	120 Broadway, New York City
Satterlee, Herbert L. (1934).....	1 Beekman Place, N. Y. C.
Scisco, Louis Dow (1925).....	2022 Columbia Rd., Wash., D. C.
Seth, Frank W. (1914).....	20 N. Broadway, White Plains, N. Y.
Sheppard, Mrs. Henrietta D. (1925)...	17 Frederick St., Hanover, Pa.
Sherwood, Mrs. Horace K. T. (1939)...	Glen Cove, L. I.
Shoemaker, Rev. Samuel M. (1937).....	61 Gramercy Park, N. Y. C.
Silverson, Mrs. Katherine Taney.... {	2655 Lakes of Isle Blvd., Minneapolis, Minn.
Sioussat, St. George Leakin (1912).....	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
Smoot, Lewis Egerton (1921)..... {	2007 Wyoming Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Somers, Wilson E. (1935).....	North Emporia, Va.
Speake, A. Howard (1923).....	134 Linden Blvd., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Steele, Heath (1936).....	61 Broadway, New York City
Steiner, Dr. Walter R. (1927).....	646 Asylum Ave., Hartford, Conn.
Stephenson, Miss Jean (1929).....	Conard Apts., Washington, D. C.
Stetson, Mrs. Charles W. (1936).....	Glencarlyn, Arlington Co., Va.
Stewart, Foster (1917).....	4037 W. 8th Street, Los Angeles, Cal.
Strider, Miss Emma T. (1927).....	1450 Rhode Island Ave., Washington, D. C.
Sudler, Miss Carolina V. (1915).....	Calverton Apts., Washington, D. C.
Sumwalt, Mrs. Mary H. (1909).....	418 Franklin Ave., Danville, Illinois
Sutliff, Mrs. S. Dana (1921).....	Shippensburg, Pa.
Taylor, Stephen C. (1938).....	5571 Hampton St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Thomas, Rt. Rev. Cornelius F. (1933)...	St. Patrick's Rectory, Washington, D. C.
Thurston, R. C. Ballard (1917).....	Filson Club, Breckinridge St., Louisville, Ky.
Todd, Mrs. Henry Alfred (1935).....	860 Park Ave., N. Y. C.
Van Deventer, Horace (1937).....	Brighton Hotel, Washington, D. C.
Van Rensselaer, Miss Florence (1926)...	3 E. 82d St., New York, N. Y.
*Veatch, A. C. (1934).....	170 Broadway, N. Y. C.
Virkus, Fred. Adams (1930).....	440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois

* Deceased.

Voohees, E. K. (1929)	101 Marietta St., Atlanta, Ga.
Wallis, Leonard G. (1931)	1812 Ontario Pl., Washington, D. C.
Wallis, Mrs. Thomas Smythe (1923)	Cherrydale, Virginia
Waters, Campbell Easter (1934)	5812 Chevy Chase Pkwy., Wash., D. C.
Watson, Mrs. Alexander Mackenzie 1920)	Harrods Creek, Kentucky
Watts, Mrs. James T. (1938)	514 19th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Welbon, Rev. Henry G. (1938)	119 Delaware Ave., Newark, N. J.
White, Mrs. Harry (1935)	701 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md.
White, John Campbell (1931)	State Depart., Washington, D. C.
Wilson, Samuel M. (1907)	Trust Co. Building, Lexington, Ky.
Winchester, James Price (1935)	Wilmington, Delaware
Young, H. J. (1935)	Librarian, York County Historical Society, York, Penna.

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Where no P. O. Address is given, Baltimore is understood.

Abell, W. W. (1937)	424 Equitable Bldg.
Abercrombie, Dr. Ronald T. (1916)	10 Whitfield Rd.
Abercrombie, Mrs. Ronald T. (1937)	10 Whitfield Rd.
Abrams, Michael A., M. D. (1936)	2360 Eutaw Place
Addison, Joseph (1934)	Mercantile Trust Building
Aiken, Miss M. Virginia J. (1934)	400 Lyman Ave.
Akers, Mrs. Warren M. (1929)	"The Lilacs," Provincetown, Mass.
Albaugh, Rev. E. Kenneth (1934)	Darlington, Md.
Albee, Mrs. George (1921)	Laurel, Md.
Albert, Mrs. J. Taylor (1928)	1028 N. Calvert St.
Alexander, Charles Butler (1923)	Eccleston, Md.
Allen, Hervey (1935)	"Bonfield," Oxford, Md.
Anderson, George M. (1933)	831 Park Ave.
Andrews, Miss Julia G. de V. (1938)	107 E. Lake Ave.
Andrews, Matthew Page (1911)	849 Park Ave.
Armstrong, Mrs. Arthur F. (1938)	2911 Chesley Ave.
Ash, Miss Mollie Howard (1924)	Elkton, Md.
Atkinson, Miss Grace (1937)	4201 Somerset Rd.
Atkinson, Matthew S., Jr. (1925)	37 South St.
Austin, Walter F. (1934)	Easton, Md.
Badger, Mrs. A. P. (1927)	1111 Edmondson Ave.
Baer, Michael S. (1920)	1001 N. Calvert St.
Baetjer, Charles H. (1936)	4300 Greenway Ave.
Baetjer, Edwin G. (1936)	16 W. Madison St.
Baetjer, Harry N. (1936)	1409 Mercantile Trust Bldg.
Baetjer, Howard (1936)	16 W. Madison St.
Baetjer, Walter A., M. D. (1936)	16 W. Madison St.
Baker, William G., Jr. (1916)	Care of Baker Watts & Co.
Baker-Crothers, Dr. Hayes (1936)	Takoma Park, Md.
*Baldwin, Chas. W., D. D. (1919)	226 W. Lafayette Ave.
Baldwin, Francis J. (1939)	1001 St. Paul St.
Baldwin, Mrs. Henry Dupont (Mar- garet Eyre Taylor) (1937)	100 W. University Parkway
Baldwin, John Ashby (1935)	1302 John St.
Baldwin, Miss Rosa E. (1923)	3951 Cloverdale Road
Baldwin, Miss Sarah F. (1929)	101 E. 72d St., N. Y. C.
Baldwin, Robert H. (1939)	Elkridge, Md.
Baldwin, Summerfield, Jr. (1928)	117 W. Baltimore St.
Baldwin, Wm. Woodward (1924)	926 Cathedral St.
Ballard, Paul G. (1938)	Court Square Bldg.
Baltimore Association of Commerce (1936)	22 Light St.

Banks, Miss Elizabeth (1926)	2119 Bolton St.
Barker, Mrs. Lewellys F.	} 208 Stratford Rd.
(Lilian Halsey) (1931)	
Barnes, G. Harry (1936)	Homewood Apts.
Barnes, Walter D. (1928)	3603 Calloway Ave.
Barrett, Henry C. (1902)	"The Severn"
Barroll, L. Wethered (1910)	1412 Equitable Bldg.
Barroll, Morris Keene (1917)	Chestertown, Md.
Barton, Carlyle (1924)	800 Baltimore Life Bldg.
Barton, Mrs. Carlyle (Isabel R. T.) (1929)	} Dulany Valley Rd., Towson, Md.
Barton, Randolph, Jr. (1915)	
Baugh, Mrs. Frederick H. (1922)	207 Woodlawn Rd., Roland Park
Baughman, Mrs. L. Victor (1931)	Frederick, Md.
Bayard, Miss Ellen Howard (1928)	1208 St. Paul St.
Baylor, John (1939)	Latrobe Apts.
Bean, Miss Mary Cloud (1930)	16 E. Biddle St.
Beatty, Mrs. Ahfordby (1910)	Bradenton, Florida
Beck, Mrs. Harvey G. (1936)	215 Northway, Guilford
Beebe Miss Heloise A. (1937)	Warrington Apts.
Beeuwkes, C. John (1924)	1706 First National Bank Bldg.
Beirne, Mrs. Francis F. (1935)	Ruxton, Md.
Bell, Mrs. M. Sheppard (1938)	618 York Rd., Towson
*Belt, William G. (1936)	613 Reservoir St.
Bennett, Miss Sarah E. (1930)	2019 Eutaw Place
Benson, Harry L. (1910)	3106 Evergreen Ave., Hamilton
Berkley, Henry J., M. D. (1900)	1305 Park Ave.
Berry, Mrs. Edward W. (1931)	19 Elmwood Rd., Roland Park
Bevan, H. Cromwell (1902)	1317 Park Ave.
Bibb, Charles W. (1939)	701 Cathedral St.
Bibbins, Mrs. A. B. (1906)	2600 Maryland Ave.
Bishop, William R. (1916)	12 East 25th St.
Black, Harry C., Jr. (1920)	Fidelity Building
Black, Wilmer (1935)	1201 Garrett Bldg.
Bladensburg Historical Society (1938)	Bladensburg, Maryland
Blakiston, Mrs. Buchanan (Jessie) Gary Black) (1921)	} Hurstleigh Ave., Woodbrook
Bland, R. Howard (1937)	
Bland, Mrs. William B. (1935)	Rolling Rd., Catonsville, Md.
Bliss, Dr. Wm. J. A. (1937)	Sparks, Md.
Blunt, Royden A. (1936)	1026 N. Calvert St.
Blunt, Royden A. (1936)	Dorsey Hall Farm, Ellicott City
Bode, Mrs. Wm. C. (Gulielma G.) Krebs Warner Hewes) (1937)	} 1900 Maryland Ave.
*Boggs, Thomas R., M. D. (1931)	
Boggs, Mrs. William A. (1938)	1013 N. Calvert St.
Bond, Carroll T. (1916)	104 Elmwood Rd.
Bond, Duke (1919)	3507 N. Charles St.
Bond, Eugene A. (1936)	Charles & Read Sts.
Bond, Eugene A. (1936)	Pikesville, Md.
Bonsal, Leigh (1902)	103 Elmwood Rd.
Boone, James R. Herbert (1934)	} 765 Park Ave., N. Y. C.
Boone, Mrs. James R. Herbert (Muriel H. Wurts-Dundas) (1934) }	
Borden, Mrs. E. M. (1936)	
Bordley, Dr. James, Jr. (1914)	Washington Apts.
Bordley, Dr. James, Jr. (1914)	Charlcote Place
Bordley, Dr. James, 3rd (1937)	110 W. University Pkwy.
Bosworth, Mrs. C. W. (Beatrice)) (1929)	} 2109 N. Calvert St.
Bouchet, Charles J. (1921)	
Bounds, Mrs. George C. (1937)	206 E. Biddle St.
Boulden, Mrs. Chas. Newton (1916)	Hebron, Md.
Boulden, Mrs. Chas. Newton (1916)	P. O. Box 154, Baltimore

* Deceased.

- Bouse, John H., M. D. (1926)..... 317 S. Ann St.
- Bowdoin, Mrs. Henry J. (Julia Morris) (1930)..... } Lawyers Hill, Relay, Md.
- Bowe, Dr. Dudley Pleasants (1927)..... 2 W. Read St.
- *Bowen, Jesse N. (1916)..... 2500 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
- Bowie, Clarence K. (1916)..... Mercantile Trust Bldg.
- Bowie, Forrest Dodge (1936)..... Mt. Lubentia, R. F. D., Benning, D. C.
- Bowie, Miss Lucy Leigh (1936)..... } 1277 New Hampshire Ave.,
Washington, D. C.
- Bowie, Mrs. Richmond Irving
(Effie Gwynn) (1934)..... } "Beechwood," Upper Marlboro, Md.
- Bowman, Isaiah (1936)..... Oak Place, Charles St.
- Boyce, Fred. G., Jr. (1916)..... 4102 Greenway, Guilford
- Boyce, Heyward E. (1912)..... 4 Club Rd.
- Boyce, Mrs. Prevost (1937)..... 2 Beechdale Rd.
- *Boyer, Rev. A., S. S. (1935)..... St. Mary's Seminary, Paca St.
- Brandt, Jackson (1935)..... } Wyman Park Apts.
- Brandt, Mrs. Jackson (1935)..... }
- Bray, Mrs. Helen Pollock (1938)..... 817 Park Ave.
- Brent, Mrs. Duncan K. (1922)..... Ruxton, Md.
- Brent, Mrs. Robert F. (1916)..... The St. Paul Apts.
- Brewer, Wm. Treanor (1928)..... 4205 Penhurst Ave.
- Brooks, Rodney J. (1937)..... Melrose & Bellona Aves.
- Brown, Alexander (1902)..... "Mondawmin," Liberty Heights Ave.
- Brown, Mrs. Thomas R. (1936)..... 14 Whitfield Rd.
- Browne, Rev. Lewis Beeman (1907)..... St. John's Rectory, Frostburg, Md.
- Broyles, Mrs. Edwin Nash (1936)..... 4405 Bedford Place
- Bruce, Howard..... Bartlett Hayward Co., P. O. Box 1191
- Bruce, Wm. Cabell (1909)..... Ruxton, Md.
- Bruce, Mrs. Wm. Cabell (1920)..... Ruxton, Md.
- Brumbaugh, Miss Grace G. (1938)..... 102 W. North Ave.
- Brun, B. Lucien, D. D. S. (1936)..... 827 Park Ave.
- Brune, Fred W. (1929)..... 2500 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
- Brune, H. M. (1902)..... Calvert Bldg.
- Buchanan, Thomas Gittings (1917)..... Garrett Bldg.
- Buck, Charles H. (1937)..... Munsey Bldg.
- Buck, Walter H. (1926)..... 609 Union Trust Bldg.
- Buckey, Mrs. Wm. G. (1931)..... 1815 Park Ave.
- Buckingham, E. G. (1927)..... 1019 Winding Way, R. P.
- Buckingham, Mrs. William A. (1920)..... Washington Apts.
- Bull, Mrs. Carroll G. (Zelma Melissa Smith) (1937)..... } 3021 N. Calvert St.
- Burnett, Paul M. (1935)..... Charles & Chase Sts.
- Butler, Thomas P. (1937)..... c/o Safe Deposit & Trust Co.
- Butterfield, Clement F. (1927)..... 2723 N. Charles St.
- Byrd, Harry Clifton, Ph. D. (1938)..... Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md.
- Cadwalader, Thomas F. (1934)..... 217 W. Lanvale St.
- Cairnes, Miss Laura J. (1923)..... 4008 Roland Ave.
- Campbell, Mrs. Harry Guy (1938)..... 700 Highland Ave., Towson, Md.
- Campbell, Mrs. Harry Mackin (1938)..... 5717 Roland Ave.
- Campbell, Milton (1935)..... Easton, Md.
- Candler, Miss Otie Seymour (1923)..... 5515 Roland Ave.
- Carey, Charles H. (1919)..... 2220 N. Charles St.
- Carey, Lee C., Lt. Comm. U. S. N. }
(Ret.) (1937)..... } Belvedere Hotel
- Carman, Mrs. Stanley (1936)..... 1617 Linden Ave.
- Carmine, Miss Margaret B. (1930)..... Hopkins Apartments
- Carr, Mrs. Chever (1923)..... 2615 Maryland Ave.
- Carr, Mrs. Robert H. (1929)..... 653 University Pkwy.

* Deceased.

Carroll, Douglas Gordon (1913)	Brooklandville, Md.
Carroll, Miss Louise E. (1935)	Chestertown, Md.
Carroll, Miss M. Grace (1923)	Roland Park Apts.
Carroll, Philip A. (1936)	55 Wall St., New York City
Carter, Allan L. (1937)	3902 N. Charles St.
Carter, H. LeRoy (1937)	843 University Pkwy.
Carter, Miss Sally Randolph (1923)	204 W. Monument St.
Carton, Mrs. Lawrence R. (1935)	"Poppintry House," Towson, Md.
Carver, Mrs. David J. (1935)	217 Chancery Rd., Guilford
Cassell, W. Barry (1934)	Brooklandville, Md.
Castle, Mrs. Guy W. S. (1932)	Oxon Hill, Md.
Cathcart, Maxwell (1922)	1408 Park Ave.
*Chamberlaine, Rev. Alward (1925)	Centerville, Md.
Chapman, James W., Jr. (1916)	214 Northway, Guilford
Chatard, Dr. J. Albert (1929)	1300 N. Calvert St.
Chesney, Dr. Alan M. (1939)	1419 Eutaw St.
Chesnut, Mrs. W. Calvin (1923)	Ridgewood Road, Roland Park
Chesnut, W. Calvin (1897)	Ridgewood Road, Roland Park
Chinard, Gilbert, Ph. D. (1935)	93 Mercer St., Princeton, N. J.
Clark, Miss Anna E. B. (1914)	The St. Paul Apartments
Clark, Miss Bertha L. (1930)	106 Woodlawn Rd., Roland Park
Clark, Ernest J. (1931)	211 Highfield Rd.
Clark, Mrs. Gaylord Lee (1928)	Stevenson, Md.
Clark, Louis T. (1929)	Ellicott City
Clark, Walter L. (1921)	1914 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Clemson, Charles O. (1928)	Westminster, Maryland
Cleveland, Hon. Allan (1939)	2124 Mt. Holly St.
Cleveland, Richard F. (1925)	Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Close, Philip H. (1916)	Bel Air, Md.
Coale, Joseph M. (1930)	511 Keyser Bldg.
Coale, Mrs. Wm. Ellis (1936)	1 E. University Pkwy.
Cochran, Wm. F. (1937)	411 N. Charles St.
Coe, Ward B. (1920)	Fidelity Building
Cogswell, Latrobe (1937)	Baltimore Athletic Club
Cohn, Charles M. (1919)	Lexington Bldg.
Cohn, Mrs. E. Herrman (Doris Maslin) (1930)	Princess Anne, Maryland
Cole, J. Wesley, M. D. (1931)	2202 Garrison Ave.
Cole, Hon. William P. (1936)	Towson, Md.
Coleman, William C. (1916)	U. S. District Court, P. O. Bldg.
Collenberg, Mrs. Henry T. (1928)	114 Witherspoon Rd.
Collinson, Mrs. John (1937)	2808 Oak St.
Cone, Mrs. Sydney M. (1936)	Maple Lawn, Pikesville, Md.
Conlon, Charles C. (1937)	3121 St. Paul St.
Conn, Mrs. William Tipton (1936)	10 Midvale Rd., Roland Park
Connolly, Gerald C. (1919)	1116 N. Eutaw St.
Connolly, James E., M. D. (1928)	1116 N. Eutaw St.
Cook, Mrs. Grafflin (1936)	Northway Apts.
Cook, Miss Jane James	Stevenson, Md.
Cooke, Mrs. Miriam Baldwin (1930)	Waterbury, Md.
Coonan, Edward V. (1907)	121 W. Lafayette Ave.
*Cooper, J. Crossan (1912)	Stock Exchange Bldg.
Cooper J. Crossan, Jr. (1937)	
Cooper, Mrs. J. Crossan (1937)	4402 Greenway
Coriell, Dr. Lewis (1927)	111 W. Monument St.
Corkran, Mrs. Benjamin W. (1919)	Warrington Apts.
*Corner, Geo. W. (1917)	3902 Juniper Rd., Guilford
Cotten, Bruce (1912)	Mt. Washington
Cotton, Mrs. Frederick J. (Jane Baldwin) (1896)	Waterbury, Md.

* Deceased.

Donn, Edward W., Jr. (1935)	10 E. Bradley Lane, Chevy Chase, Md.
Donnelly, Edward A. (1919)	213 N. Calvert St.
Dorsey, Dr. Caleb, Jr. (1927)	1659 W. North Ave.
Downey, Dr. Jesse W., Jr. (1929)	209 Hawthorne Rd.
Dozer, Donald Marquand, Ph. D. (1938)	Univ. of Maryland, College Park
Dryden, Leslie P. (1939)	2305 Homewood Ave.
Dryden, Thos. P. (1930)	6212 Blackburne Lane, Cedarcroft
Duer, Thomas Marshall (1935)	3909 Canterbury Rd.
Duffy, Edward (1920)	138 W. Lanvale St.
Duffy, Mrs. Eleanor Bernard (1927)	110 W. North Ave.
Duffy, Henry (1916)	110 W. North Ave.
Dugan, Miss Mary Coale (1919)	124 W. Lanvale St.
Duke, W. Bernard (1909)	Valley Lee, Md.
Dukehart, Morton McL. (1920)	2744 N. Calvert St.
Duker, Mrs. J. Edward (1923)	3904 N. Charles St.
Dulany, Mrs. Josephine Lanahan (1936)	Washington Apts.
Dunahue, Mrs. Wilbur C. (1923)	1620 Bolton St.
Dunton, Wm. Rush, Jr., M. D. (1902)	Harlem Lodge, Catonsville, Md.
Durrell, Percy Brooks (1935)	2206 Roslyn Ave.
Duvall, Mrs. Richard M.	2905 N. Charles St.
Eareckson, F. Leif (1928)	23 S. Hanover St.
Easter, Mrs. James W. (Anita T.) (1929)	Owings Mills, Md.
Eaton, Miss Ida M. (1937)	119 W. Franklin St.
Edmondson, Mrs. Frank Gordon (1928)	Roland Park Apts.
Edmondson, J. Hooper (1928)	
Edmondson, W. W., Jr.	
Edwards, Mrs. Charles Reid (1935)	106 Longwood Rd.
Edwards, Mrs. Edmund P. (1928)	Mt. Vernon Club
Egerton, Stuart (1919)	106 Elmhurst Rd.
Ellicott, Charles E. (1918)	Melvale, Md.
Ellicott, William M. (1929)	714 St. Paul St.
Ellicott, Mrs. Wm. M. (1929)	
Ellinger, Esther Parker (1922)	12 W. 25th St.
Ellis, Edward D., M. D. (1936)	106 St. Dunstons Rd.
Emmart, Wm. W. (1924)	Union Trust Bldg.
Englar, George Monroe (1928)	Roland Park Apts.
Evans, Mrs. Z. Bond, Jr. (1933)	900 E. Preston St.
Evans, Z. Bond, Jr. (1934)	
Ewell, Mrs. Emmett Robinson (1937)	1513 Bolton St.
Fairfax, Mrs. John (1938)	101 W. 29th St.
Falconer, Chas. E. (1915)	1630 Bolton St.
Fenhagen, G. Corner (1918)	325 N. Charles St.
Fenhagen, James C. (1927)	c/o Baltimore National Bank
Fenwick, G. Bernard (1929)	Glyndon, Md.
Fickus, Henry J. (1927)	4506 Mainfield Ave.
Finch, Rayme W. (1937)	207 W. 29th St.
Findlay, Miss Mary P. B. (1930)	1510 Bolton St.
Finley, Mrs. W. Norville (1930)	Rugby Rd., Charlottesville, Va.
Finney, Miss Catherine (1934)	937 St. Paul St.
Finney, W. W. (1939)	Aberdeen, Md.
Fisher, D. K. E. (1916)	1301 Park Ave.
Fisher, Samuel J. (1932)	Union Trust Bldg.
Fisher, Dr. Wm. A. (1924)	715 Park Ave.
Fitzgerald, Charles G. (1923)	3507 N. Charles St.
Flack, Horace E. (1938)	Mt. Washington, Md.
Flack, Mrs. James W., Jr. (1937)	2921 St. Paul St.
Fleming, Miss Elizabeth Boyd (1925)	Canterbury Hall Apartments
Florence, Nellie G. (1931)	Brentwood P. O., Md.

Flynn, Joseph J. (1937).....	} 1702 Park Ave.
Flynn, Mrs. Joseph J. (1937).....	
Fogg, George W. (1939).....	College Park, Md.
Fooks, Major Herbert C. (1921).....	723 Munsey Building
Forbes, George (1924).....	601 Maryland Trust Building
Ford, Horace A. (1937).....	3401 Greenway
Foster, Mrs. Henry C. (1939).....	Clear Spring, Md.
Foster, James W. (1935).....	203 Oakdale Rd.
Fowler, Laurence Hall (1919).....	347 N. Charles St.
France, Jacob (1926).....	Calvert Building
France, Mrs. Jacob (1926).....	Old Court Rd., Pikesville, Md.
*France, Joseph C. (1928).....	Court Square Bldg.
Frank, Eli (1923).....	North and 4th Aves., Mt. Washington
Franklin, Mrs. Benjamin (1921).....	104 W. 39th St.
Freeman, Dr. E. B. (1926).....	807 Cathedral St.
Freeman, J. Douglas (1914).....	203 Woodlawn Rd., Roland Park
French, H. Findlay (1929).....	2303 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
French, Dr. John C. (1924).....	416 Cedarcroft Road
Frick, Fred. M. (1936).....	609 Keyser Bldg.
Frick, George Arnold (1914).....	20 E. Lexington St.
*Frick, Miss Susan Carroll Poultney } (1937)	1523 Bolton St.
Friedenwald, Harry, M. D. (1919).....	1212 Eutaw Place
Friedenwald, Julius, M. D. (1919).....	1013 N. Charles St.
Friedenwald, Mrs. Julius (1937).....	1013 N. Charles St.
Gail, Mrs. Geo. Wm. (1935).....	Ruxton, Md.
Gaither, Charles D. (1919).....	"Stockwood," Ellicott City, Md.
Gale, Walter R. (1921).....	241 W. Lanvale St.
Gambrill, Mrs. Chauncey } (Gabrielle E.) (1935)	Northway Apts.
Garcelon, Mrs. Herbert I. (1924).....	Severna Park, Anne Arundel Co., Md.
Gardiner, Norman Bentley (1938).....	Ruxton, Md.
Garrett, John W. (1898).....	4545 N. Charles St.
Garrett, Mrs. Robert (1928).....	} Charles St. and Wyndhurst Ave.
Garrett, Robert (1898).....	
George, Mrs. Thomas Stevens } (Esther Ridgely) (1934).....	Towson, Md.
Gibbs, John S., Jr. (1914).....	Lakeside, Md.
Gibbs, Mrs. Rufus M. (1924).....	1209 St. Paul St.
Gill, Mrs. Robert Lee (1924).....	11 Club Road
Gilleland, Mrs. Marion A. (1936).....	2017 E. North Ave.
Gilpin, Mrs. Arthington, Jr. (1935).....	7 Gittings Ave.
Gillis, Dr. Andrew G. (1923).....	1033 N. Calvert St.
Ginhart, Franklin K. (1938).....	Rockdale, Md.
Gittings, Miss Victoria (1920).....	1428 Park Ave.
*Glenn, John, Jr. (1915).....	1103 N. Eutaw St.
Goldsborough, Phillips Lee (1915).....	Tudor Arms Apts.
Goldsmith, Mr. and Mrs. John Gray } (1937)	812 E. 41st St.
Goldsmith, Philip Sidney (1937).....	608 Woodington Ave.
Goodwillie, Miss Mary C. (1937).....	205 Wendover Rd.
Gordon, Mrs. Alan L. (1937).....	1613 Bolton St.
Gordon, Mrs. Alexander H. (1916).....	1009 N. Charles St.
Gordon, Douglas H. (1928).....	100 E. Chase St.
Gorman, Mrs. Grace Norris (1923).....	Laurel, Md.
Gorter, James P. (1902).....	121 Taplow Rd.
Gough, Mrs. I. Pike (1916).....	Hopkins Apts.
Graham, Albert D. (1915).....	First National Bank Bldg.
Graham, Boyd B. (1936).....	4310 St. Paul St.

* Deceased.

Graham, R. Walter, Sr. (1936)	4310 St. Paul St.
Graham, R. Walter, Jr., M. D. (1935)	700 Cathedral St.
Graham, Robert Lee (1936)	4310 St. Paul St.
Gramkow, Mrs. Frank (Emma Warfield) (1919)	22 E. Eager St.
Green, Elmer S. (1934)	54 Ridge Rd., Yonkers, N. Y.
Green, Harry B. (1935)	Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Green, Mrs. J. Melvin (1937)	4404 Roland Ave.
Green, Mrs. John M. (1938)	4 Acton Place, Annapolis, Md.
Greenfield, Kent Roberts, Ph. D. (1934)	Tudor Arms Apts.
Greenway, Miss Elizabeth W. (1917)	2322 N. Charles St.
Greenway, William H. (1886)	2322 N. Charles St.
Gregg, Maurice (1886)	719 N. Charles St.
Griswold, Alexander Brown (1935)	Monkton, Md.
Griswold, B. Howell, Jr. (1913)	Alex. Brown & Sons
Gross, Jacob (1937)	1605 Chilton St.
Hall, Miss Adelphine (1928)	5304 Springlake Way
Hall, Mrs. Arthur H., Sr. (1938)	McDonogh Lane, Pikesville, Md.
Hall, Cary D., Jr. (1919)	706 Fidelity Bldg.
Hall, Miss Rosabel E. (1928)	2406 Kenoak Ave., Mt. Washington
Hall, Sidney (1937)	1319 Park Ave.
Hall, Dr. William S. (1922)	215 Woodlawn Rd., Roland Park
Hambleton, Mrs. F. S. (1907)	Hambledune, Lutherville, Md.
Hamman, Mrs. Louis (1923)	315 Overhill Rd.
Hammond, Edward (1923)	140 W. Lanvale St.
Hammond, Edward Hopkins (1923)	Union Trust Bldg.
Hancock, James E. (1907)	2122 St. Paul St.
Hann, Charles K. (1936)	First National Bank
Hann, Samuel K. (1915)	230 Somerset Rd.
Hanson, Aquilla Brown (1928)	3622 Greenmount Ave.
Harding, Rev. Carroll E. (1939)	4707 Greenhill Ave.
Hardinge, Mr. and Mrs. Harold, Jr. (1932)	2450 Eutaw Place
Harlan, Henry D., LL. D. (1894)	Fidelity Building.
Harlan, Mrs. Henry D. (1928)	4909 Falls Rd.
Harper, George Houston (1921)	3405 Greenway
Harris, Miss Helen Nicholson (1928)	St. Paul Apts.
Harris, Norris (1927)	2906 Alameda Blvd.
Harris, Mrs. Norris (1926)	
*Harris, W. Hall (1883)	Title Building
Harris, Mrs. W. Hall (Alice Patterson) (1919)	11 East Chase St.
Harris, W. Hall, Jr. (1938)	31 E. Mt. Vernon Pl.
Harris, W. Hall, 3rd (1938)	1211 Bolton St.
Harrison, Dr. Edmund P. H., Jr. (1934)	2 East 33rd St.
Harrison, George (1915)	Northwood Apts.
Harrison, J. Edward (1915)	2127 Bolton St.
Harrison, Miss Rebekah (1919)	Ellicott City, Md.
Harrison, Robert (1936)	Garrison, Md.
Hart, Robert S. (1923)	101 W. Monument St.
Haushalter, Rev. Walter Milton, D. D. (1937)	Cambridge Arms
Hayden, Mrs. Lewis M. (1927)	2010 Park Ave.
Haydon, F. Stansbury (1930)	Riderwood, Md.
Hayes, Robert F., Jr. (1923)	3526 Roland Ave.
Hayward, F. Sidney (1897)	Harwood Ave., Govans, Md.
Hecht, Miss Beatrice Mae (1936)	Arlington Park Apts.
Helfenstein, Rev. Edward T. (1920)	105 W. Monument St.
Henderson, Charles F. (1919)	Continental Trust Bldg.

* Deceased.

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| Henderson, George (1934)..... | Cumberland, Md. |
| Henderson, Mrs. Louisa P. (1919)..... | Cumberland, Md. |
| Hendler, L. Manuel (1939)..... | 913 Lake Drive |
| Hennighausen, Frederick H. (1937).... | 231 St. Paul St. |
| Henry, Daniel M. (1923)..... | Easton, Maryland |
| Henry, Mrs. M. Lynn (1928)..... | Linthicum Heights, Md. |
| Henry, Mrs. Roberta B. (1914)..... | "Myrtle Grove," Easton, Md. |
| Herring, Thomas R. (1919)..... | 10 South St. |
| Hewes, M. Warner (1922)..... | 2315 Maryland Ave. |
| Hicks, Admiral T. Holliday (1938).... | Cambridge, Md. |
| Hicks, T. Russell (1929)..... | 106 W. Madison St. |
| Hill, John Philip (1899)..... | 3 East Franklin St. |
| Hilles, Mrs. William S. (1934)..... | Millbrook Rd., Guilford |
| Hills, William G. (1938)..... | 6 Shepherd St., Chevy Chase, Md. |
| Hines, Rev. Charles J. (1922)..... | 27 S. Ellwood Ave. |
| Hinkley, John (1900)..... | 215 N. Charles St. |
| Hintz, Carl W. (1938)..... | Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md. |
| Hitchcock, Ella Sprague (1919)..... | 219 City Hall |
| Hodges, Mrs. Ellen W. (1937)..... | 3840 30th St., Mt. Rainier, Md. |
| Hoen, Albert B. (1935)..... | 100 Ridgewood Rd. |
| Hoen, Alfred T. (1934)..... | 10 Midvale Rd. |
| Hoff, Mrs. Violet B. (1924)..... | 4202 Somerset Place |
| Hogan, Dr. John F. (1929)..... | 7 East Preston St. |
| Holbeine, Sister M. Clotilde (1933)... | { Holy Trinity Convent, Georgetown,
Washington, D. C. |
| Holdcraft, Mehrling (1930)..... | 2315 Harlem Ave. |
| Holland, Miss Eugenia (1934)..... | 4713 Roland Ave. |
| Holland, Mrs. William W. (1929).... | 4713 Roland Ave. |
| Hollander, Jacob H., Ph. D. (1895).... | 1802 Eutaw Place |
| Holly, Miss Netta E. (1934)..... | Havre de Grace, Md. |
| Holt, W. Stull, Ph. D. (1934)..... | 205 Cedarcroft Rd. |
| Homer, R. Baldwin (1937)..... | { |
| Homer, Mrs. R. Baldwin (1937).... | 819 W. University Pkwy. |
| Homer, Mrs. Jane Abell (1909)..... | Riderwood, Md. |
| Hooff, Miss Mary Stabler (1922)..... | 1205 Linden Ave. |
| Hooper, Miss Florence (1937)..... | 4506 Roland Ave. |
| Hoopes, Miss Blanche L. (1935)..... | Blackstone Apts. |
| Hoopes, Miss M. Ella (1935)..... | Homewood Apts. |
| Hopkins, Mrs. Mabel Ford (1924).... | 2 Wyndhurst Ave. |
| Hopkins, Roger Brooke, Jr. (1938).... | "Bagatelle," Woodbrook, Baltimore |
| *Hopkins, W. Wiley (1935)..... | Bel Air, Md. |
| Hopper, Charles Cox (1930)..... | 1405 John St. |
| Horine, Cyrus F., M. D. (1935)..... | 3907 N. Charles St. |
| Hough, Miss Anne Edmondson (1928).. | 212 Lambeth Rd., Guilford |
| Hough, Miss Ethel (1937)..... | 212 Lambeth Rd., Guilford |
| Howard, Arthur C. (1937)..... | 329 Dolphin St. |
| Howard, Charles McHenry (1902).... | 901 St. Paul St. |
| Howard, Charles Morris (1907)..... | 1010 Munsey Bldg. |
| Howard, John D. (1917)..... | 209 W. Monument St. |
| Howard, John Eager of B. (1936)..... | Joppa Rd., Towson |
| Howard, Miss Julia McHenry (1927) } | { |
| Howard, Miss May (1927)..... | 901 St. Paul St. |
| Howell, G. Robert (1935)..... | Fidelity Bldg. |
| Howell, William H., M. D. (1935).... | 112 St. Dunstan's Rd. |
| Howell, William R., Ph. D. (1929).... | 402 Washington Ave., Chestertown, Md. |
| Hoye, Charles E. (1931)..... | 4615 W. 18th St., Los Angeles, Calif. |
| Hoyt, William Dana, Jr. (1930)..... | 2019 Maryland Ave. |
| Hubbard, Thomas F. (1928)..... | 3324 Eilerslie Ave. |
| *Hubbard, Wilbur W. (1915)..... | Chestertown, Md. |
| Hubner, William R. (1920)..... | Safe Deposit and Trust Co. |

* Deceased.

Hughes, Thomas (1886)	1018 Cathedral St.
Hunter, S. A. Dulany (1936)	119 Brookside Drive, Kenwood, Md.
Hutchins, Miss Katherine K. (1928)	142 W. Lanvale St.
Hutzler, Albert D. (1936)	"Pomona," Pikesville, Md.
Hyde, Enoch Pratt (1906)	3507 N. Charles St.
Hynson, W. George (1925)	U. S. F. & G. Co.
Hysan, William B., Jr. (1937)	1825 E. Baltimore St.
*Iglehart, Mrs. C. Iredell (1927)	914 N. Charles St.
Iglehart, Miss M. Luckett (1931)	218 Laurens St.
Ijams, Miss Ella (1933)	3702 Mohawk Ave.
Ijams, Mrs. George W. (1913)	Church Home and Infirmary
Ing, Mrs. Carrie Shallus (1938)	106 W. University Pkwy.
Ingle, Miss Eliza (1934)	1710 Park Ave.
Ingle, William (1909)	1710 Park Ave.
Isaacs, Miss Bertha P. (1934)	"Maplewood," Elkridge, Md.
Israel, Miss Ellen C. (1934)	701 Cathedral St.
Jackson, Mrs. George S. (1910)	Garrison, Md.
Jackson, Mayor Howard W. (1937)	5222 Springlake Way
Jackson, Mrs. Howard W. (1936)	
Jacobs, Frank, Esq. (1935)	Bel Air, Md.
Jacobs, Henry Barton, M. D. (1903)	11 W. Mt. Vernon Place
James, Macgill (1934)	3434 University Place
*James, Norman (1903)	2305 Ruscombe Ave.
Jamison, J. Vincent, Jr. (1936)	Hagerstown, Md.
Janney, Stuart S. (1924)	1635 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Janney, Mrs. Stuart S. (1936)	Garrison, Md.
Jarman, Miss Martha F. (1934)	Princess Anne, Md.
Jeffery, Mrs. Elmore Berry (1933)	307 Somerset Rd.
Jencks, Mrs. Francis M. (1924)	1 W. Mt. Vernon Place
Jenkins, M. Ernest (1924)	Lake Ave., Roland Park, P. O.
*Jenkins, Thomas Courtney (1936)	Stevenson, Md.
Johnson, Mrs. Edward M. (1924)	843 University Pkwy.
Johnson, Miss Mary Louise (1935)	Frederick, Md.
Johnson, Dr. Sarah Janet Basset (1936)	3218 Fait Ave.
Johnston, Mrs. John Edward (1936)	Charlcote House, Guilford
Johnston, Mrs. Lola E. (1929)	105 Charlcote Rd.
Johnstone, Miss Emma E. (1910)	Greenway Apts.
Jones, Arthur Lafayette (1911)	1516 Bolton St.
*Jones, Dr. Elisha (1902)	Towson, Md.
Jones, Miss Ruth (1932)	
Joseph, Miss Jeannette (1936)	1513 Eutaw Place
Joyce, Mrs. John Collinson (1936)	Iris Hill-on-Severn, Arnold P. O., Md.
Joyce, Temple N. (1927)	Joyce Station, Md.
Judik, Mrs. J. Henry (1918)	3906 St. Paul St.
Katz, Joseph (1935)	7201 Park Heights Ave.
Keating, Mrs. Arthur B. (Louise Ogle Beall) (1932)	Latrobe Apartments
Keech, Mrs. Carolina Pagon (1924)	
Keech, Edw. P., Jr. (1909)	203 Ridgewood Road, Roland Park
Keidel, Albert, M. D. (1936)	900-901 Maryland Trust Building
Kellum, William H. (1935)	804 Medical Arts Bldg.
Kelly, Howard A., M. D. (1919)	1418 Eutaw Place
Kemp, Ernest W. (1935)	2633 N. Charles St.
Kennedy, Benj. F. (1937)	333 St. Paul Place
Keys, Miss Jane G. (1905)	c/o Central Savings Bank
Keyser, H. Irvine, 2nd (1928)	605 E. 41st St.
Keyser, W. Irvine (1917)	4103 St. Paul St.
King, Edward Stevenson (1938)	Stevenson, Md.
Kirkman, Walter N. (1927)	5305 Falls Road Terrace
	Rolling Road, Catonsville

* Deceased.

- Klein, Daniel E. (1937).....Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
 Knox, J. H. Mason, Jr., M. D. (1909)...211 Wendover Road, Guilford
 Koppelman, Walter (1927).....102 Milbrook Rd.
 Kriel, Mrs. Walter E. (1938).....Hampstead, Md.
- Lanahan, Mrs. William Wallace }
 (Eleanor Williams) (1929)..... } Long Crandon, Towson, Md.
- Latrobe, Ferdinand C. (1932).....3921 Canterbury Rd.
 Leach, Miss Mary Clara (1924).....4014 Edmondson Ave.
 Leach, Calvert R. (1938).....206 W. Saratoga St.
 Leakin, Margaret Dobbin (1920).....Lake Roland, Md.
 Leakin, Miss Susan Dobbin (1923).....103 W. Monument St.
 Lee, H. H. M. (1923).....1930 Mt. Royal Terrace
 Lee, John L. G. (1916).....511 Calvert Building
 *Lee, Richard Laws (1935).....Morris Building.
 Le Fevre, Mrs. Wm. Douglas (1935)...R. F. D. 1, Chesapeake City, Md.
 Legg, John C., Jr. (1916).....222 E. Redwood St.
 Leser, C. C. Fulton (1935).....4403 Bedford Place
 Leupold, Mrs. Richard J. (1934).....223 E. Preston St.
 Levering, Edwin W., Jr. (1935).....Ruxton, Md.
 Levy, Lester S. (1937).....Lombard & Paca Sts.
 Levy, Oscar G. (1928).....423 N. Fulton Ave.
 Levy, William B. (1909).....Fidelity Building
 Lewis, Prof. Charles L., U. S. N. A. }
 (1936) } 41 Southgate Ave., Annapolis, Md.
- Link, Mrs. Harry O. (1937).....614 Glendon Ave.
 Linville, Charles H. (1918).....4003 Keswick Rd.
 Litsinger, Miss Elizabeth C. (1938).....1503 Mt. Royal Ave.
 Littig, Mrs. John M. (1919).....Cambridge Apartments
 Lloyd, Mrs. Charles Howard (1928)....Easton, Md.
 Lloyd, Wm. Henry (1937).....1118 N. Calvert St.
 Lockard, G. Carroll, M. D. (1919).....2925 N. Charles St.
 Lockard, Mrs. G. Carroll (1930).....2925 N. Charles St.
 Lockhart, Henry, Jr. (1935)....."Cleghorn-on-Wye," Longwoods, Md.
 Long, Mrs. Breckenridge (1931).....Laurel, Md.
 Lord, Mrs. J. Walter (1923).....44 Roland Court
 Lord, Mrs. J. Williams (1919).....1011 N. Charles St.
 Lowry, Mrs. Henry A. (1938).....610 W. 40th St.
 Lucas, J. C. M. (1936).....Standard Oil Building
 Lyon, Miss Grace (1923).....223 Wendover Rd.
- McCabe, Jos. A. (1936).....1312 Homewood Ave.
 McCardell, Lee (1929).....4618 Wilmslow Rd.
 McCarty, Mrs. Agatha Shipley (1935)...636 Cokesbury Ave.
 McCleary, Oscar Wood (1938).....3365 Chestnut Ave.
 McCleave, R. Hugh (1928).....Cumberland, Maryland
 McColgan, Charles C. (1916).....2710 N. Calvert St.
 McColgan, Edward (1921).....200 N. Beechwood Ave.
 McCormick, R. A. (1914).....3807 Fenchurch Road
 McCormick-Goodhart, Leander (1928)... "Langley Park," Hyattsville, Md.
 Maccubbin, Mrs. Wm. H. (1936).....1925 E. 32nd St.
 McCulloch, Mrs. Duncan (1932).....Glencoe, Md.
 McCullough, David Norman (1938)...2702 Roslyn Ave.
 MacGill, James (1934).....Atholton, Md.
 Machen, Arthur W. (1917).....1109 Calvert Bldg.
 Machen, Thomas (1937).....Poplar Hill Rd.
 McHenry, John (1929).....Owings Mills, Md.
 McIlvain, Miss Elizabeth Grant (1917)..908 St. Paul St.
 McIntosh, J. Rieman (1937).....Baltimore Trust Bldg.
 McIntyre, Edward J. (1934).....1213 N. Luzerne Ave.
 Mackall, R. McGill (1928).....2423 Pickwick Rd.

* Deceased.

McKim, S. S. (1902)	P. O. Box 893
McLanahan, Mrs. Austin (Romaine LeMoyne) (1931)	Greenspring & Woodlawn Aves.
McLane, Allan (1894)	Garrison, Md.
McLane, Miss Elizabeth C. (1919)	Warrington Apts.
MacLean, Dr. Angus L. (1933)	1201 N. Calvert St.
McWilliams, Miss Mary Matthews (1929)	1732 N. Calvert St.
Magee, Mr. and Mrs. John Alexander (1936)	14 Hillside Rd., Roland Park
Magruder, Caleb Clarke (1930)	Upper Marlboro, Md.
Magruder, Miss Louise E. (1929)	Annapolis, Md.
Maloy, William Milnes (1911)	308 Overhill Rd.
Manakee, Harold Randall (1938)	
Manakee, Mrs. Harold Randall (Beta Kaessman) (1938)	2802 Silver Hill Ave.
Manning, James R. (1928)	Briarfield, Poplar Hill Road
Marburg, Theodore (1931)	14 W. Mt. Vernon Pl.
Marine, Miss Harriet P. (1915)	Box 40, Druid Station, Baltimore
Markell, Charles (1937)	1804 1st Nat'l Bank Bldg.
Markell, Mrs. Francis H. (1923)	Frederick City, Md.
*Marriott, Mrs. Telfair W. (1919)	1001 St. Paul St.
Marshall, Morgan (1935)	3804 St. Paul St.
Marshall, Mrs. Robert E. Lee (1937)	1013 Poplar Hill Rd.
Marston, James G., M. D. (1934)	516 Cathedral St.
Marye, William B. (1911)	207 E. Preston St.
Massey, Mr. & Mrs. J. Allan (1923)	1514 33rd St.
Massey, Miss M. E. (1925)	105 Maple Ave., Chestertown, Md.
Mather, L. B. (1922)	315 E. 22nd St.
Mathews, Edward B., Ph. D. (1905)	Johns Hopkins University
Matthews, Mrs. Henry C. (1927)	1302 St. Paul St.
Maynard, Julian H., Lt. Comm. U. S. N. (1936)	Philadelphia Navy Yard
Maynard, Mrs. Sellman (1938)	3314 Carlisle Ave.
Mears, Mrs. Adelbert Warren (1930)	3102 Hilton St.
Mencken, August (1928)	1524 Hollins St.
Menzies, John T. (1937)	Lutherville, Md.
Merrick, Robert G. (1937)	Munsey Bldg.
Merritt, Elizabeth, Ph.D. (1939)	3402 W. North Ave.
Meyer, Mrs. Robert A. (1924)	3047 Brighton St.
Meyer, Walter F. (1937)	800 Glen Allen Drive
Mickle, Mrs. Marbury (1923)	The Sherwood Hotel
Miller, Miss Alice E. (1938)	Port Deposit, Md.
Miller, Charles R. (1916)	2200 Roslyn Ave.
Miller, Edgar G., Jr. (1916)	808 Fidelity Building
Miller, R. Fowler (1937)	{ c/o Supt. Telegraph B. & O. R. R., Camden Station
Miller, Mrs. Warren D. (1924)	160 W. Washington St., Hagerstown, Md.
Miller, Mrs. William E. (1922)	7 Beechdale Rd., Roland Park
Mintz, Mrs. Julius (1924)	400 Equitable Building
Mitchell, Mrs. Robert L. (1921)	2112 Maryland Ave.
Moore, Mrs. Charles E. (1938)	4414 Roland Ave.
Moore, Mrs. Joseph Earle (1933) (Grace Barclay)	4422 Underwood Rd.
Morgan, Philip S. (1936)	514 St. Paul Place
Morgan, Zachariah R., M. D. (1931)	708 Reservoir St.
Morrison, Mrs. Harry (1935)	Woodbrook, Md.
Morton, Samuel P., Jr. (1934)	Ambassador Apts.
Mullikin, James C. (1938)	3734 Beech Ave.
Mullikin, Kent R. (1933)	1511 Guilford Ave.

* Deceased.

- Mullin, Miss Elizabeth Lester (1916)....1501 Park Ave.
 Munroe, Mrs. Kenneth O. (1927).....543 Park Ave., Towson, Md.
 Murdoch, Miss Mildred Laws (1926)....1527 Bolton St.
 Murray, Miss Mercedes M. (1926).....1309 W. 42nd St.
 Muse, Mrs. H. Lee (1930).....3748 Beech Ave.
 Myers, Mrs. Philip (1935).....5 Maryland Ave., Towson, Md.
 Nance, O. H. (1937).....4002 St. Paul St.
 Nelson, J. Arthur (1921).....227 St. Paul St.
 New, Jacob S. (1937).....101 W. Monument St.
 Newcomer, B. Frank (1937).....100 Witherspoon Rd.
 Nice, Mrs. Harry Whinna (1937).....Mt. Washington, Baltimore
 Nichols, Firmadage King, M. D. (1929)..4711 Roland Ave.
 Nicolai, Charles D. (1916).....3809 Dorchester Rd.
 Nimmo, Mrs. Nannie Ball (1920).....3207 N. Calvert St.
 Nolting, William G. (1919).....11 E. Chase St.
 Norris, Walter B. (1924).....199 Hanover St., Annapolis, Md.
 Northup, Isaac Noyes (1936).....Trinity Cathedral, Newark, N. J.
 Nyburg, Sydney L. (1921).....1504 First National Bank Building
 Ober, Gustavus, Jr. (1914).....Woodbrook, Govans P. O., City
 O'Connor, Hon. Herbert R. (Governor } Governor's House, Annapolis, Md.
 of Maryland) (1937).....}
 O'Ferrall, Alfred J. (1936).....100 St. Paul St.
 Offutt, T. Scott (1908).....Towson, Md.
 Old, Francis E., Jr. (1931).....1608 Linden Ave.
 Oliver, John R., M. D. (1919).....1900 E. Monument St.
 Olivier, Stuart (1913).....2 Wyndhurst Ave.
 Oppenheimer, Reuben (1924).....1508 1st Nat'l Bank Building
 Orndorff, James Ridgely (1929).....Homewood Apts.
 Orrick, S. Hilton (1938).....209 E. Biddle St.
 Owens, Edward B., Jr. (1927).....420 Cedarcroft Road
 Owens, Hamilton (1937).....c/o Evening Sun, Balto.
 Owens, John W. (1937).....c/o The Sun, Balto.
 Paca, John P., Jr. (1931).....Title Bldg.
 Page, Mrs. James (1929).....Homewood Apts.
 Page, Wm. C. (1912).....Calvert Bank
 Paine, James R. (1933).....18 E. Baltimore St.
 Parke, Francis Neal (1910).....Westminster, Md.
 Parks, Miss Ida M. (1922).....11 W. Saratoga St.
 Parran, Mrs. Frank J. (1908).....144 W. Lanvale St.
 Parran, Dalrymple (1926).....1708 N. Calvert St.
 Passano, Mrs. Edward B. (1935).....York Road and Susquehanna Aves.
 Pattison, Sam W. (1935).....407 N. Howard St.
 Paul, Mrs. D'Arcy (1909).....Blythewood Road, Roland Park
 Paul, John Gilman D'Arcy (1927).....Blythewood Road, Roland Park
 Paul, Rev. Peter J., O. S. A. (1938).....St. Mary's Rectory, Annapolis, Md.
 Penniman, J. A. Dushane (1938).....19 East Fayette St.
 Pennington, Mrs. Lee Roberts (1932)...16 Taylor St., Chevy Chase, Md.
 Pentz, Harry G. (1938).....1824 West Baltimore St.
 Perine, Mrs. George Corbin (1916).....1124 Cathedral St.
 Perine, Washington (1917).....607 Cathedral St.
 Perkins, Mifflin Thomas (1935).....3118 Howard Park Ave.
 Perkins, Walter F. (1935).....5301 Purlington Way
 Perlman, Philip B. (1936).....Munsey Bldg.
 Piper, Mr. & Mrs. Edward W. (1938)...Montrose Ave., Woodbrook, Baltimore
 Piper, Mrs. James (1935).....Eccleston, Md.
 Pitts, Miss Mary B. (1927).....100 University Pkwy., W.
 Pitts, Tilghman G. (1924).....129 E. Redwood St.
 Pleasants, J. Hall, M. D. (1898).....201 Longwood Road, Roland Park
 *Pleasants, Mrs. John (1937).....3405 Greenway

* Deceased.

Pleasants, Mrs. Richard H. (1936)	103 W. Monument St.
Poe, Edgar Allan (1929)	U. S. F. & G. Building.
Pollitt, L. Irving (1916)	1715 Park Place
Porter, Miss Bessie (1926)	Greenway Apts.
Post, A. H. S. (1916)	Mercantile Trust and Deposit Co.
Potter, Henry Betram (1936)	c/o Baltimore Transit Co.
Powell, Henry Fletcher (1923)	309 W. Lanvale St.
Powell, Rev. Noble C. (1934)	St. Albans Cathedral, Wash., D. C.
Preston, Mrs. Herbert R. (1936)	Catonsville, Md.
*Preston, James H. (1898)	916 Munsey Building
Price, Mrs. Juliet Hammond (1924)	Sherwood Hotel
Purdum, Mrs. Bradley K. (1923)	Hamilton, Md.
Purdum, Frank C. (1922)	Hamilton, Md.
Radcliffe, George L., Ph.D. (1908)	Fidelity Building
Radoff, Morris Leon, Ph.D. (1937)	829 N. Charles St.
Ralston, Mrs. David A. (1935)	Severna Park, Md.
Ramey, Mrs. Mary E. W. (1922)	9 E. Franklin St.
Randall, Blanchard (1902)	200 Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
Randall, Miss Emily B. (1938)	8 W. Mt. Vernon Pl.
Rawls, William Lee (1938)	Maryland Trust Bldg.
Reckord, Milton A. (Adjutant General) (1939)	} 11 E. Chase St.
Requardt, John M. (1926)	
Requardt, Mrs. John M. (1926)	} 101 Wendover Rd.
Revell, Edward J. W. (1916)	
Rhode, W. Allen (1931)	Catonsville, Md.
Rice, Duane Ridgely (1938)	306 Highfield Rd.
Rich, Edward N. (1916)	Union Trust Building
Rich, Mrs. Edward L. (1926)	Catonsville, Md.
Ricker, Mrs. Roger R. (1927)	3011 Wayne Ave.
Ridgely, Miss Eliza (1893)	825 Park Ave.
Ridgely, John, Jr. (1916)	Towson, Md.
Riely, Mrs. Compton (1934)	2207 St. Paul St.
Rieman, Mrs. Charles Ellet (1909)	10 E. Mt. Vernon Place
Rieman, Charles Ellet (1898)	10 E. Mt. Vernon Place
Riggs, Miss Annie Smith (1934)	Brookeville, Md.
*Riggs, Clinton L. (1907)	606 Cathedral St.
Riggs, Henry G. (1937)	814 Cathedral St.
Riggs, John Beverley (1936)	Brookeville, Md.
Riggs, Lawrason (1894)	632 Equitable Building
Riordan, William A. (1938)	Washington Apts.
Risacher, Rev. John A., S. J. (1934)	Loyola College, Evergreen
Roach, Erwin R. (1934)	611 Park Ave.
Robertson, David A. (1936)	2229 N. Charles St.
Robertson, James A. (1936)	Archivist, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.
Robertson, Mrs. John C. (Edith Harlan Reed) (1938)	} 79 Shipwright St., Annapolis, Md.
Robertson, Geo. S. (1921)	
Robinson, J. Ben, D.D.S., (1928)	Medical Arts Bldg.
Robinson, Ralph (1894)	Maryland Trust Bldg.
Robinson, Ralph J. (1934)	Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Rodgers, Maurice Falconer (1937)	505 Orkney Rd.
Rogers, Miss Maria R. (1936)	Pikesville, Md.
Rogers, Mrs. Wm. F. (1927)	5308 Stonington Ave., Howard Park
Rohrer, C. W. G., M.D. (1910)	2814 Ailsa Ave.
Rose, Douglas H. (1898)	10 South St.
Rose, R. Contee (1935)	301 Oakdale Rd.
Rouse, John G. (1928)	Md. Casualty Co.
Rouzer, E. McClure (1920)	Calvert Bldg.
Rowe, Miss Georgia M. (1925)	2321 N. Calvert St.
Rowland, Samuel C. (1923)	Calvert Bldg.

* Deceased.

- Ruark, Elmer F. (1939)..... } Pres. Wicomico Historical Society,
Salisbury, Md.
- Rumsey, Charles L., M. D. (1919)..... 812 Park Ave.
- Ryan, Timothy J., Jr. (1938)..... 1825 E. Baltimore St.
- Sadtler, Miss Florence P. (1925)..... 2605 N. Charles St.
- Sanford, John L. (1937)..... Morris Bldg.
- Sappington, Mrs. Edith M. (1937)..... 2931 N. Calvert St.
- Sattler, Mrs. Augustus Edmund } 3904 St. Paul St.
(1937)..... }
- Scarlett, Charles E., Jr. (1937)..... 2901 St. Paul St.
- Schoenfield, Mrs. Frederick } 1409 Hillside Rd., Wynnewood, Pa.
(Virginia Berkley Bowie) (1928)..... }
- Scholtz, Karl A. M. (1937)..... 334 St. Paul St.
- Scott, Miss Dorothy McIlvain (1937)..... Warrington Apts.
- Scott, James W. (1935)..... 213 W. Monument St.
- Scott, Mrs. T. Quincy (1937)..... Warrington Apts.
- Scott, Mrs. William Dodds (1929) } 3908 Hadley Square
(Katherine Fairfax Kimberly)..... }
- Seeman, Frederick C. (1919)..... 110 Hopkins Place
- Seitz, Mrs. S. Clayton (1934)..... Towson, Md.
- Selden, Albert A. (1935)..... 3137 N. Calvert St.
- Selfe, Mrs. Lee Webster (1934)..... Salisbury, Md.
- Semmes, Miss Frances C. (1929)..... 100 W. University Pkwy.
- Semmes, John E., Jr. (1916)..... First National Bank Bldg.
- Semmes, Raphael (1923)..... Latrobe Apts.
- Severn, Edwin F. (1936)..... 55 Oregon Ave., Halethorpe, Md.
- Shackelford, Wm. T. (1926)..... Earl Court Apts.
- Shamer, Maurice Emory (1924)..... 3300 W. North Ave.
- Shannahan, E. McNeal (1936)..... Easton, Md.
- Shaw, John K., Jr. (1927)..... Eccleston Station, Md.
- Sherwood, Watson E. (1931)..... 2818 St. Paul St.
- Shipley, Arthur M. (1935)..... 507 Edgevale Rd.
- Shipley, George (1924)..... Fairhaven, Easton, Md.
- Shipley, Mrs. Marvin R. (1927)..... Harman's, Md.
- Shoemaker, Mrs. Edward (1919)..... 1031 N. Calvert St.
- Showacre, Miss Elizabeth B. (1932)..... 4105 Liberty Heights Ave.
- Shower, Miss Leonora V. (1935)..... 2133 Maryland Ave.
- Shreve, Levin Gale (1938)..... 127 W. Lanvale St.
- Shriver, Alfred Jenkins (1921)..... University Club
- Shriver, Mrs. Edward Jenkins (1936)..... 205 Ridgewood Rd.
- Shriver, George M. (1935)..... Old Court Rd.
- Shure, Austin F. (1932)..... 3531 Wabash Ave.
- Sill, Mrs. Howard (1928)..... 1203 St. Paul St.
- Simpson, Mrs. Edward (1935)..... 1528 Bolton St.
- Sioussat, Mrs. Annie Leakin (1891)..... 1000 N. Charles St.
- Skeen, John H. (1927)..... First National Bank Bldg.
- Skinner, M. E. (1897)..... 1103 Fidelity Bldg.
- Skirven, Percy G. (1914)..... 422 Chapelgate Rd., Ten Hills
- Slack, Dr. & Mrs. Harry R., Jr. (1938)..... 8 Bishop's Rd.
- Slagle, A. Russell (1937)..... 4803 Roland Ave.
- Slemmer, Mrs. Martha Kemp (1938)..... "Kembire," Frederick, Md.
- Slingluff, Jesse (1936)..... Md. Trust Bldg.
- Sloan, Miss Anne M. (1924)..... Lonaconing, Md.
- Slocum, Mrs. Geo. Washington (1925)..... 4100 N. Charles St.
- Smith, Mr. Alan P., 3rd (1937)..... Bel Air, Md.
- Smith, Mrs. Henry Edmond (1923)..... 1500 Park Ave.
- Smith, Henry Lee, M. D. (1931)..... 4313 St. Paul St.
- Smith, Mrs. James S. (1928)..... Annapolis Blvd., Brooklyn, Md.
- Smith, R. Manson (1937)..... c/o Mercantile Trust Co.
- Smith, Mrs. Tunstall (1935)..... Preston Apts.
- Smith, Walter Prescott (1937)..... Bel Air, Md.

Snow, Mrs. Henry (Maud Birnie Cary) (1925).....	4824 Roland Avenue
Sollers, Basil (1933).....	605 Lennox St.
Solter, George A. (1925).....	Court House, City
Soper, Hon. Morris A. (1917).....	102 W. 39th St.
Speare, Almus Reed (1923).....	Rockville, Md.
Speer, J. Ramsey (1931).....	Trappe, Talbot Co., Md.
Spence, Miss Lydia E. (1937).....	626 S. Paca St.
Spencer, Miss Eleanor Patterson (1936).....	Goucher College
Spilker, Miss Julia E. (1933).....	Northway Apts.
Sprigg, James Cresap (1932).....	Allston Apts.
Stamp, Miss Adele Hagner (1929).....	Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md.
Stanford, John Harwood (1937).....	Munsey Bldg.
Stanley, John S. (1936).....	First National Bank Bldg.
Stanton, Hon. Robert F. (1937).....	853 University Pkwy. W.
Stanton, Mrs. Robert F. (1937)....	
Steele, Miss Rosa (1925).....	3809 N. Charles St.
Stein, Chas. F. (1905).....	S. E. Cor. Courtland & Saratoga Sts.
Stettinius, Mrs. Wm. C. (1929).....	500 Somerset Rd.
Steuart, Lamar Hollyday (1928).....	1311 John Street
Steuart, Richard D. (1919).....	703 W. University Pkwy.
Steuart, Miss Susan Elliott (1929).....	5709 Roland Ave., Roland Park
Stick, Mrs. Gordon M. F. (Anna Howard Fitchett) (1930).....	Glen Arm, Maryland.
Stokes, Miss Mary Charlton (1937).....	Guilford Manor Apts.
Stoll, Mrs. Conrad (1936).....	Brooklyn, Md.
Stork, Wm. B., Lt. U. S. Navy, Ret. (1928).....	3923 Canterbury Rd.
Storm, William M. (1926).....	Frederick, Md.
Stow, John Carroll (1933).....	4001 N. Charles St.
Stran, Mrs. Thomas P. (Caroline S. Bansemer) (1929).....	Ambassador Apts.
Straus, Isaac Lobe (1935).....	Brooklandville, Md.
Stritegoff, Nelson H. (1937).....	700 Northern Parkway
Strong, Gordon (1936).....	Sugar Loaf Mountain, Dickerson Sta., Md.
Stuart, Miss Sarah Elizabeth (1915)....	Chestertown, Md.
Stump, John B. (1937).....	Bel Air, Md.
Sullivan, Mrs. Felix R., Jr. (1922).....	1605 Park Ave.
Summers, Clinton (1916).....	1 Bedford Place, Guilford
Swain, Robert L., M. D. (1936).....	3507 Edgewood Rd.
Swann, Don (1935).....	879 Park Ave.
Sweeny, Mrs. Louis F.....	2844 N. Calvert St.
Symington, Mrs. Donald (1938).....	Darlington, Md.
Symington, John F. (1924).....	1407 Philpot St.
Tabler, Dr. H. E. (1926).....	Box 2, Hancock, Md.
Taylor, Mrs. Clarence M. (1930).....	Linthicum Heights
Thom, Mrs. Mary W. (1919).....	Warrington Apts.
Thomas, Mrs. Douglas (Catherine Bowie Clagett) (1925).....	2739 N. Calvert St.
Thomas, Mrs. Harvey C. (1914).....	Tudor Arms Apts.
Thomas, Mrs. James Walter (1935)....	Cumberland, Md.
Thomas, Richard Henry.....	3448 Gilman Terrace
Thomas, William S. (1915).....	211 N. Calvert St.
Thompson, Richard Hardesty (1937)....	Maryland Club
Tiffany, Herbert T. (1919).....	Severn Apts.
Tilghman, Lt. Col. Harrison (1917)....	Foxley Hall, Easton, Md.
Tilghman, J. Donnell (1928).....	Easton, Md.
Tilghman, Mrs. William H. (Irma B.) (1934).....	Salisbury, Md.
Tipton, L. Wylie (1937).....	2350 Eutaw Place

- Tolley, Oscar Kemp (1938).....Corbett, Md.
 Torrence, Robert M. (1933).....110 Edgevale Rd.
 Torrence, Mrs. Robert M. (1934).....110 Edgevale Rd.
 Tracy, Arthur G. (1933).....Hampstead, Md.
 Treide, Henry E. (1922).....4201 St. Paul St.
 Trimble, I. Ridgeway, M.D. (1939).....8 W. Madison St.
 Tubman, Mrs. Samuel A. (1921).....2808 N. Calvert St.
 Tucker, Mrs. Clarence A. (1922).....Sudbrook Park
 Turnbull, Miss Anne Graeme (1919).....1623 Park Ave.
 Turner, Mrs. J. Frank (1926).....Cecil Apartments
 Tyson, A. M. (1895).....207 N. Calvert St.

 Valentine, Miss Katherine (1928).....1120 N. Calvert St.
 Van Bibber, Miss Lena Chew (1923).....Preston Apts.
 Van Hollen, Donald B. (1925).....Cedarcroft & Hillen Rds., Cedarcroft
 Veitch, Dr. Fletcher P. (1926)..... }
 Veitch, Mrs. Laura B. (1926)..... } College Park, Md.
 Vest, Dr. Cecil W. (1923).....1014 St. Paul St.
 Vickery, Miss Mabel R. (1937).....Earl Court Apts.
 Vickery, Stephen G. (1925).....Earl Court Apts.
 Vincent, John M., Ph. D. (1894).....406 Holliston Ave., Pasadena, Calif.
 Von der Horst, Miss Louise (1928).....747 W. North Ave.

 Walker, Henry M. (1933).....2927 N. Calvert St.
 Wallace, Chas. C. (1915).....804 Union Trust Building
 Wallace, Frank T. (1936).....11 E. Saratoga St.
 Walters, Miss Estelle S. (1938).....2819 N. Calvert St.
 Ward, Mrs. Clemson H. (1938).....4511 Roland Ave.
 Ward, Miss Elizabeth (1933).....1514 Park Ave.
 Ward, Mrs. Joseph S. (1936).....14 E. Franklin St.
 Warfield, Edwin, Jr. (1914)....."Oakdale," Sykesville, Md.
 Warfield, Henry M. (1937).....Timonium, Md.
 Waring, Col. J. M. S. (1933).....277 Park Ave., New York City
 Waters, J. Seymour T. (1902).....601 Calvert Building
 Waters, Miss Mary E. (1916).....Baltimore, Md.
 Watson, Mark Skinner (1938).....1 Merryman Court
 Webb, Miss Celeste (1930).....9 Wendover Rd.
 Webb-Peploe, Mrs. Laura Hammond }
 (1922)..... } 3927 Canterbury Rd.
 Webber, Charles R. (1920).....B. and O. Building
 Weiskittel, Harry C. (1938).....3022 St. Paul St.
 Weld, Mrs. Charles R. (1937).....119 W. Franklin St.
 Welsh, Mrs. Robert A. (1916).....Millersville, A. A. Co., Md.
 Wetherall, Wm. G. (1924).....317 W. President St.
 Whedbee, James S. (1927).....Maryland Life Insurance Bldg.
 Wheeler, Elliott (1935)....."Canterbury," Easton, Md.
 Wheeler, Joseph L. (1927).....Enoch Pratt Free Library
 Wheeler, H. Lawrence (1935).....2910 Hollins Ferry Road
 Whitcraft, Franklin P., Jr. (1937).....Lutherville, Md.
 White, Charles Hoover (1923).....Rolling Road, Relay, Md.
 White, Mrs. George Howard, Jr. (1920).....Upperville, Va.
 White, Mrs. John Odenheimer (1937).....Sudbrook Park, Md.
 Whiteley, Mrs. James G. (1931).....223 W. Lanvale St.
 Whitfield, Dr. Theodore M. (1938).....Western Maryland College, Westminster
 Whitham, Lloyd B., M. D. (1923).....Towson, Md.
 Whiting, Geo. A. (1937).....Mercantile Trust Co.
 Whitridge, William (1919).....Garrett Bldg.
 Wickes, Col. Joseph L. (1923)..... }
 { c/o Public Service Commission,
 { Munsey Building
 Wicks, Mrs. Walter (1928)..... }
 { Brooklandville, Md.
 Wickes, Walter (1928)..... }
 Wiegand, Henry H. (1923).....4614 Roland Ave.

- Wild, Mrs. Michael B. (1922) 928 Cathedral St.
 Wilkinson, A. L., M. D. (1923) Raspeburg, Baltimore Co., Md.
 Wilkinson, Charles M. (1933) 638 W. North Ave.
 Willard, Daniel (1913) B. & O. Building
 Willard, Miss Jessie C (1931) 3907 Greenway
 Willard, Samuel L. (1937) 3907 Greenway
 Williams, E. A. (1920) 1430 John St.
 Williams, Miss Elizabeth Chew (1916) .. 108 W. 39th St.
 Williams, Mrs. Huntington (Mary }
 Camilla McKim (1937) } 620 W. Belvedere Ave.
 Williams, Mrs. N. Winslow 4112 Greenway
 Williams, Roger B. (1928) 3209 N. Charles St.
 Willson, Mrs. Notley (Mary R. }
 Camp) (1917) } Rock Hall, Md.
 Wilson, Mrs. John Glover (1937) 325 Tuscany Rd.
 Wilson, Mrs. Marshall (1939) Hagerstown, Md.
 Wilson, Miss Virginia A. (1926) Charles & Highfield Rd.
 Winchester, Marshall (1902) 21 W. Chase St.
 Winder, Edward Lloyd (1927) Easton, Md.
 Winebrenner, David C. (1939) Frederick, Md.
 Wirgman, Harold F., Lt. Col. U. S. }
 M. C., Ret. (1936) } Annapolis Club, Annapolis, Md.
 Wood, Frederick Wm. (1926) }
 Wood, Mrs. Frederick Wm. (1926) .. } 2429 Keyworth Ave.
 Worthington, Edward L. (1924) 3504 Clifton Ave.
 Worthington, Ellicott H. (1917) 1531 Bolton St.
 Worthington, Lt. Leland Griffith (1935) .. Berwyn, Md.
 Wright, Philemon K. (1929) Easton, Md.
 Wright, W. H. DeCoursey (1921) Monkton, Md.
 Wright, Maj. Wm. Burnett (1936) 806 W. University Pkwy.
 Wroth, Lawrence C. (1909) John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.
 Wroth, Peregrine, Jr., M. D. (1921) ... Hagerstown, Md.
 Wyckoff, Vertrees J. (1937) 13 Thompson Circle, Annapolis, Md.
 Young, Andrew J., Jr. (1916) Central Savings Bank Bldg.
 Young, Hugh Hampton, M. D. (1934) .. Cold Spring Lane
 Young, Mrs. Norville Finley (1937) 1968 Denune Ave.
 Zimmerman, Louis S. (1939) Severna Park, Md.
 Zimmermann, Charles W. (1929) 1922 W. Baltimore St.
 Zink, Mrs. George Conrad (1936) 2344 Edmondson Ave.
 Zoller, Mrs. Henry, Jr. (1938) 11 Charlcote Place

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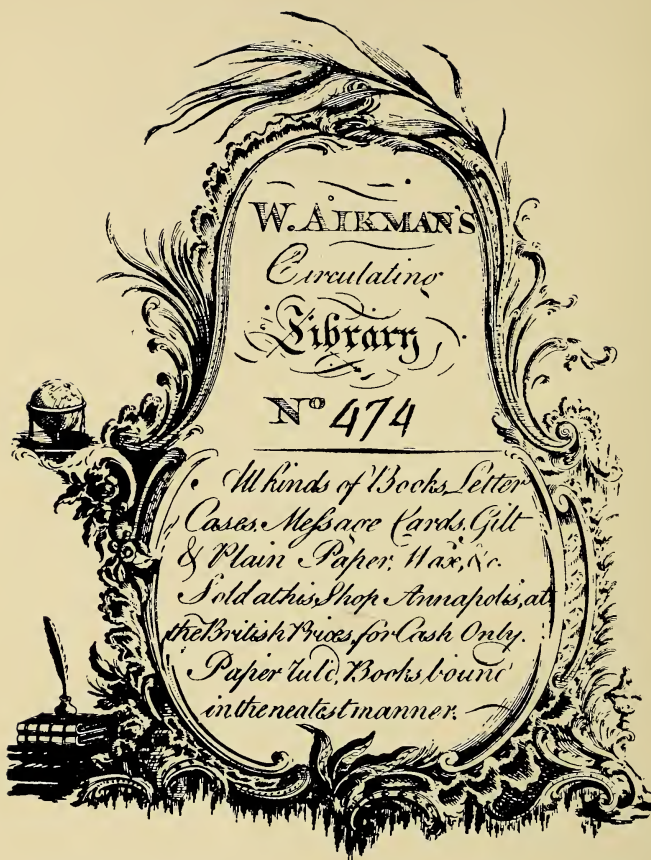
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The Maryland Historical Magazine is published in March, June, September and December of each year. Entered as second class matter April 24, 1917, at the post office at Baltimore Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.



BOOK PLATE OF WILLIAM AIKMAN'S
CIRCULATING LIBRARY IN ANNAPOLIS

From copy owned by the American Antiquarian Society

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXXIV.

JUNE, 1939.

No. 2.

BOOKSELLERS AND CIRCULATING LIBRARIES IN COLONIAL MARYLAND

By JOSEPH TOWNE WHEELER

In recent years there has been an increasing interest in the cultural history of colonial Maryland. This has been evidenced by the publication of several books and articles. The subject has been approached from three general points of view. The first, and perhaps the most obvious approach was to examine the literature produced by local writers to determine the origin of the literary forms used and the sources of the ideas found.¹ Another approach was that of recording the issues of the printing press and of investigating in so far as was possible the forces which led to the publication of each item.² The third method of studying the literary culture of the colony was that of examining the records of books in private libraries, parochial libraries, circulating libraries and bookstores, and discovering the reading interests of the people as shown in their correspondence and private journals.³ The purpose of this article is to present the early history of bookstores and circulating libraries in the colony and to show the part they played in stimulating an interest in reading among the colonists.

The earliest recorded Maryland bookseller is Evan Jones, whose name appeared on the title page of the Rev. Thomas Bray's *Necessity of an Early Religion*, printed by Thomas Reading at Annapolis in

¹ Bernard C. Steiner, *Early Maryland Poetry*, Baltimore, 1900. Lawrence C. Wroth, "James Sterling: Poet, Priest, and Prophet of Empire" in *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings* ns. 41 (1931) 25-76. Carl L. Carlson, "Richard Lewis and the Reception of His Work in England" in *American Literature* 9 (1937) 301-316. Lawrence C. Wroth, "Maryland Muse by Ebenezer Cooke," in *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings* ns. 44 (1934) 267-335.

² Lawrence C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776*. Baltimore, 1922. Joseph T. Wheeler, *The Maryland Press, 1777-1790*. Baltimore, 1938.

³ Joseph T. Wheeler, "Literary Culture in Eighteenth Century Maryland, 1700-1776." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Brown University, 1938.

1700.⁴ No further references have been found mentioning him in this capacity and there is no record of the books he sold. He took an active part in colonial affairs from that date until his death in June, 1722. With his connections as a clerk of the two houses of legislature, vestryman of St. James's Parish, deputy collector of customs and editor of the Maryland laws of 1718 he doubtless would have found it profitable to operate a small bookstore.

Beginning with William Parks, the colonial printers published lists of the books, almanacs and pamphlets they had recently printed as well as those published in the neighboring colonies. There are virtually no advertisements of imported books for sale in the surviving numbers of the first *Maryland Gazette* (1728-1734) so it would appear that Parks did not operate a bookstore in connection with the newspaper. On one occasion he advertised that he had:

A Parcel of very curious Metzotinto Prints, to be Sold at Reasonable Rates. . . .⁵

He also frequently offered to bind books carefully and cheaply. After he established the *Virginia Gazette* in 1736, he opened a bookstore in Williamsburg.⁶

No record has been found of another bookseller at Annapolis until William Rind went into partnership with Jonas Green, the publisher of the second *Maryland Gazette*, in 1758.⁷ Rind had been apprenticed to Green several years before this and apparently realizing the need for a bookstore in Annapolis, he opened one in his home. From 1758 to 1762 he did not go in the bookselling business extensively, although he occasionally advertised importations. The fact that in 1760 Green and Rind published an advertisement of Samuel Evans, an itinerant bookseller and bookbinder, would probably indicate that Rind was not seriously interested in bookselling at that time.

Just Imported from London, And to be Sold by Samuel Evans, Book Binder, near Mr. Howard's in Annapolis, A Collection of Books, consisting of History, Law, and Physic; together with great Variety of School-Books and Stationary.

During his stay here, which will be about two months, he will Bind old or new Books in the neatest and most expeditious Manner.⁸

⁴ For the best account of Evan Jones, see L. C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*. Baltimore, 1922, pp. 39-45.

⁵ *Maryland Gazette*, July 15, 1729, p. 4.

⁶ See L. C. Wroth, *William Parks*. Richmond, 1926, pp. 24-25.

⁷ L. C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, p. 85, for best account of William Rind, Maryland and Virginia printer.

⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, May 15, 1760.

On August 26, 1762, Rind announced the arrival of a large shipment of books from London which were for sale "at the House where Mrs. M'Leod formerly kept Tavern." In the next number of the *Maryland Gazette*, he published his scheme for a circulating library for the whole colony. When it is recalled that the earliest New York circulating library was started by Garrat Noel in August, 1763, and the first recorded Boston circulating library began in 1765, the pioneer attempt of William Rind in 1762 takes on greater significance.

The list of books which constituted the earliest known colonial circulating library contained nearly one hundred and fifty titles, one-half of which were English literature, classics or language. Among the titles were Thomson's *Seasons*, Milton's *Paradise Lost and Regained*, Hanmer's *Shakespeare*, Pope's *Works*, Swift's *Works*, Johnson's *Rambler*, Young's *Night Thoughts*, Fénelon's *Telemachus*, Voltaire's *Letters on the English Nation*, Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws*, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Fielding's *Tom Jones*, *Amelia* and *Joseph Andrews*, Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe* and *Pamela* and many other contemporary titles.

Rind's address to the prospective subscribers is an important essay on the merits of circulating libraries and deserves particular attention as the first known attempt to interest colonists in the benefits of an institution which was rapidly gaining support in England.

TO THE PUBLIC

The great Utility of diffusing a Spirit of Science thro' the Country, is too obvious to need any Proof, and if the Author of the following Plan has been so fortunate as to adapt it to this important Object, he presumes to hope that his Endeavours will be well received and supported by the Public. Nature (it is generally acknowledged) has been sufficiently bountiful to the Natives of this Country, in bestowing upon them the happiest Talents; but as the richest Soil, without due Cultivation, runs into rank and unprofitable Weeds, so little Fruit can be expected from the best natural Endowments, where the Mind is not under the Direction of proper intellectual Aids. Among the many Obstacles to literary Acquirements, which the Youth of this Country are liable to, the Want of Books proper for their Instruction, is justly esteemed one of the greatest. The furnishing of a competent Library, for any tolerable Advancement in Letters, requires a Fortune which few People in this Part of the World are Masters of, whence it comes to pass, that many a fine Genius languishes and dies in Obscurity. The Purpose therefore of this Plan, which is to open and extend the Fountains of Knowledge, which are at present shut against all but Men of affluent Fortunes, it is hoped, will meet with the Countenance and Patronage of every Friend to his Country. If the Author of this Scheme finds sufficient Encouragement from this Essay, he proposes to enlarge

his Plan by the Addition of many more Books to his Catalogue, so that the Means of Knowledge will thereby become accessible to Men of middling Fortunes, and every Man will be furnished at a very easy Rate with Books which best suit his Taste, or correspond with the natural Propensity of his Genius. As a Scheme of this Nature is quite new in this Part of the World, the Author has not the Vanity to think, but that what he has proposed is capable of many Improvements, and therefore will be much obliged to any ingenious Gentlemen, who will point out it's Defects, and furnish him with any Amendments or Additions, which may more effectually conduce to the Perfection of his Plan.

WILLIAM RIND.⁹

The terms he proposed for membership were that each subscriber should pay twenty-seven shillings Maryland currency annually for the privilege of using two books at a time. Annapolis subscribers were allowed to borrow a folio for a month, a quarto for three weeks, and an octavo for one week. Subscribers living more than thirty miles from Annapolis could have the books for an additional two weeks. To prevent his subscribers from taking an unfair advantage of him, Rind stipulated that anyone found lending the books belonging to the library, even at the present day a bone of contention between librarian and reader, had to forfeit the full cost of the volume. A printed catalogue was to be provided at cost. He arranged with prominent men in nearly every county to take subscriptions.

In an effort to interest certain prospective subscribers who did not take the *Maryland Gazette*, he sent out a circular letter enclosing the list of books and the proposals. Henry Callister, the Eastern Shore tobacco factor, received the announcement and replied:

This day I received your letter 17th Current covering two of your gazettes, for which I thank you.

Your circulating library will be of great & eternal advantage to the opening & enlarging the minds of rude & uncultivated understandings in a Country where the want of such a convenience is greatly to be regretted, which is strongly set forth in the poem [sic] to your proposals. I know several Gentlemen to whom your scheme will be agreeable; & I shall recommend it all I can. The case with some of them may be as it is with me for this year: We import yearly, so that there is scarce any book in your present Catalogue that I have not either read or have now by me. But our method is very costly, & for the future I think we had best fall in with you, which I intend when I see your catalogue of a new importation.

About 7 or 8 years ago, having a tolerable stock of books, I proposed to join stocks with 3 or 4 others, for a circulating library. But my plan was conformable to what I had seen practiced by some Booksellers in Dublin; that the value of the books lent should be deposited, & the parusal [sic] to

⁹ *Maryland Gazette*, September 2, 1762.

be rated at so much pr week, what ever bulk they should be of. But I, & another of the parties seeing a prospect of removing our Quarters, there was nothing done. Your plan must be more extensive, & I hope you will not only sell the more books by it, but reap due emolument from the hire of the Books.¹⁰

In the next issue of the paper Rind asked those who intended subscribing to do so at their earliest convenience so that he could order the next consignment of books in time to be shipped with the return fleet.

For several months after making his announcements, Rind made no further comments in the *Gazette*. But on December 9, 1762, probably shortly after his second consignment of books had arrived, he began an unusual method of advertising certain recent European publications which he apparently had imported in quantity from London. On this date, quite in the modern manner, he reprinted a long extract from the *Critical Review* comparing Rousseau's *Modern Eloisa* with Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe*. After arousing the interest of his readers in these books, he announced that he had copies for sale in his bookstore. In the next issue he advertised a new twenty volume edition of *The World Displayed; or, a Curious Collection of Voyages and Travels*, printed in Elzevir type with colored maps and engraved prints.¹¹ His originality in making use of extracts from the *Critical Review* undoubtedly helped the sale of his books in Annapolis.

There were not enough subscribers to enable him to operate his circulating library on the large scale which his original proposals called for, so on January 13, 1763, he announced a modified plan to include only Annapolis and the district within thirty miles. He also decided to allow only one book to a subscriber and to permit folios to be borrowed for two months. These proposals were introduced by another essay on the library:

As the Scheme I some Time ago offered to the Public, for Circulating a Library through the Province, is not likely to meet with the Success I expected, I presume it must be owing to the too great Latitude of my Plan; the Communication between this and the other Parts of the Province, not being as yet upon so regular an Establishment, as to admit of it's being carried into Execution in so great an Extent, to the Satisfaction of all Parties. For this Reason, I am advised by my Friends to decline all Thoughts of pushing it any further for the present, as premature, and to contract it within such Limits, that every Subscriber may, with very little Trouble, have the full Benefit of it. I propose therefore to confine my Subscriptions to ANNAPOLIS,

¹⁰ Henry Callister letterbook, III, 579. HC to Wm. Rind, 20 Sept. 1762.

¹¹ *Maryland Gazette*, December 16, 1762. This was, of course, the English edition. An American edition in eight volumes was printed in Philadelphia in 1795-6.

and a Circle of Thirty Miles about it. I presume no one, who has the least Taste for BOOKS, or any Inclination to improve his Mind, can think much of the Expence of one Guinea a Year, for the Use of such a valuable Collection, so plentifully abounding with Matter both for his Use and Amusement; nor can I conceive how Gentlemen, who either cannot afford, or do not choose to lay out large Sums of Money in Books, can fall upon a better Expedient for attaining the Means of Knowledge, than by some such Scheme as I have proposed. If my present Plan is in any Respect exceptionable, and not well calculated to answer the Purpose intended, I must beg Leave to repeat the Request I made in my former Address to the Public, That any Person would be so good as to point out it's Defects, and to favour me with such Improvements, as may be put it upon the best Footing for all concerned.¹²

There were enough subscribers in Annapolis to justify opening the library that year. In February he announced that the catalogue of the collection was in press.¹³ A year later he asked all of his former subscribers to let him know at their earliest convenience whether they wished to continue so that he could make his plans. He wrote that:

. . . the Encouragement it has hitherto received, is too inconsiderable to enable me to carry it on without injuring my Circumstances, by Expence I must unavoidably be at in furnishing the Library with new Books . . .

Apparently too few subscriptions were renewed. He could not raise money with which to purchase the next installment of books from abroad, so he determined to auction off the entire library. He announced that beginning April 17, 1764, he would sell the books at his home. "The sale will begin at Five O'clock, and continue every Evening until they are disposed of."¹⁴

Book auctions were a familiar feature of the colonial book trade but the great majority of the early sales were held in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Only a few were held in the Southern colonies, nearly all of these in Williamsburg and Charleston.¹⁵ Annapolis was too small a community to support a book auction and Rind discovered that he could not profitably dispose of his library in this way.

He finally concluded that the only way to get rid of it was to draw up a scheme for a lottery and instead of giving cash prizes to make the awards in books or merchandise. On May 30, 1764, he published his plan in broadside form, with an apology for having resorted to this somewhat questionable method of selling books:

¹² *Maryland Gazette*, January 13, 1763.

¹³ *Maryland Gazette*, February 10, 1763. Not in Wroth; no copy known.

¹⁴ *Maryland Gazette*, April 5, 1764.

¹⁵ George L. McKay, *American Book Auction Catalogues, 1713-1934*. New York, 1937.

A LOTTERY,
For Disposing of a Large and Valuable Collection of
BOOKS, MAPS, &c

The various Schemes of this Kind which have been offered to the Public, are, I must acknowledge, sufficient to disgust them against any new Proposal of that Nature: This Consideration would indeed deter me from the Attempt, did I not entertain the most sanguine Hopes of Success from the Disinterestedness of my Intentions: Tho' I must confess it is the last Method I would pursue, could I discover any probable Means of reimbursing the great Expence, I have been at, or had my former Plan, which would have been so beneficial to the Public in general, met with that Encouragement, which, I flatter myself, it deserved.¹⁶

Each of the highest prizes of fifty or one hundred dollars' worth of merchandise consisted of "a very valuable, tho' small, Collection of Books." The drawing of the prizes was to be on July 21, 1764, but the fact that the list of the successful participants was not published in the newspaper of that date would seem to indicate that even his unusual scheme of selling books by lottery failed.

Ten years after William Rind's abortive circulating library came to its unfortunate end, a similar library containing over twelve hundred volumes was flourishing in Annapolis. William Aikman, the proprietor, was born in Scotland in 1751. Nothing is known of his early career, but it is possible that as an apprentice to some colonial printer he learned the printing trade that he later used to such good advantage in Jamaica.

The twenty-two year old youth arrived in Annapolis in the Spring of 1773 with an assortment of books and stationery. He took over the store on West Street opposite the Court House, formerly kept by Mr. Colin Campbell, transforming it into a circulating library and bookstore. He soon assembled a collection of books for his circulating library, which he described as:

... above 12 hundred volumes on the most useful sciences, history, poetry, agriculture, voyages, travels, miscellanies, plays, with all the most approved novels, magazines and other books of entertainment . . .¹⁷

He compiled a catalogue of his library and had it printed for free

¹⁶ The following is a description of the broadside:

Annapolis, May 30, 1764. / A Lottery, / For Disposing of a Large and Valuable Collection of / Books, Maps, &c. / . . . [signed] William Rind. [Annapolis: Printed by Green & Rind, 1764.]

Folio broadside. Leaf measures: 12¼ x 7½ inches. Not in Wroth. MdHS (Hayden Collection.)

¹⁷ *Maryland Gazette*, July 8, 1773.

distribution. The only known copy of this catalogue, owned by the Maryland Historical Society, lacks the title page containing the name of the printer and the date of publication. The most recent publication listed by date was the *Town and Country Magazine* for 1771, while written on the cover in the hand of the contemporary owner is the date, 6 October 1775. It was therefore issued during the intervening four-year period. On July 8, 1773, in an advertisement of his circulating library, Aikman mentioned for the first time "Catalogues both of the library and the books he has for sale to be had at his shop." The close similarity of the conditions of subscription to the library as published by him in the newspaper and as found in the catalogue is the link identifying this mutilated catalogue as the one issued by William Aikman in 1773. A supplement to the catalogue listing recent additions was printed in 1774, but no copy is known.

He was apparently planning to extend the scope of his circulating library to include the entire colony, as William Rind had first hoped to do, when he learned that Joseph Rathell, a former resident of Annapolis, was trying to start a library in Baltimore. One week after the announcement of Rathell's library was printed in the *Maryland Journal*, William Aikman wrote:

To the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Town of Baltimore, William Aikman, Bookseller and Stationer, at Annapolis, having been informed that nothing deters a number of the friends of literature in *Baltimore*, from subscribing to his Circulating Library, but the trouble and risk they run of procuring and returning the books, hereby informs such as may incline to become subscribers, that any orders for books left with Mr. *Christopher Johnston*, merchant, in *Baltimore*, will be regularly forwarded by a packet that goes weekly between *Baltimore* and *Annapolis*, and books carried for the small sum of one dollar each, per annum, provided a proper number of subscribers can be got.—There will be about two hundred volumes of all the new publications of merit, imported for the use of the library this fall.

William Aikman has imported in the *Molly*, Captain *Nicholson*, from *London*, a large assortment of books, containing all the *English* classicks, miscellanies, voyages, novels, plays, &c. to be sold at the *London* prices for cash only.¹⁸

This proposal to provide Baltimore readers with books from the Annapolis circulating library and the fact that it was probably instrumental in defeating Rathell's project indicates that the growing commercial town was still dependent upon the older community. After the Revolution the situation was reversed. The important printers, booksellers and circulating libraries were in Baltimore; and

¹⁸ *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, October 23-30, 1773.

when Parson Weems visited Annapolis in 1800, he could write, "There is not a book store in the whole town."¹⁹

A few days after making the announcement in the Baltimore newspaper, Aikman received a large assortment of books from London containing English literature, histories, essays, novels, one hundred and fifty plays and a number of Latin and English school books. He informed the subscribers of the library that:

. . . there will be a large addition of the new publications and periodical papers subjoined to the catalogue upon the arrival of the first ship from London; and such additions will be made from time to time, as will render the Annapolis Library upon a footing, if not superior, to any circulating library on the continent.²⁰

Thereafter, his advertisements were of his bookshop rather than of the circulating library, although there are enough references to it to show that it remained open during his stay in Annapolis.

Like the other colonial booksellers, he frequently announced the arrival of new books from London and usually gave lists of the titles he had for sale. On June 23, 1774, he advertised the following:²¹

Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, 4 vol.—Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. 4 vol. probably fifth edition. Oxford, 1773.

New Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, 3 vol. 4to.—*A new and complete Dictionary of arts and sciences; comprehending all the branches of useful knowledge. . . . By a society of Gentlemen.*

Beatie's Essay on Truth—James Beattie, *An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism*. The fourth edition. London, 1773.

Buchan's Domestic Medicine, best London edition—William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine; or, the Family Physician*. [1772?]

Hume's Essays, 2 vols. octavo—David Hume, *Essays, moral and political*. 2 vol. London, 1768.

Lord Kaim's Elements of Criticism, 2 vols.—Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Elements of criticism*. Fourth edition, with additions. 2 vol. Edinburgh, 1769.

Ferguson's Essay on Civil Society—Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*. Fourth edition. London, 1773.

Dickson, On Agriculture, 2 vols. last edition—Adam Dickson, *A Treatise on Agriculture*. A new edition. 2 vol. Edinburgh, 1770.

¹⁹ Emily E. F. Skeel, *Mason Locke Weems*, New York, 1929, II, 150-151.

²⁰ *Maryland Gazette*, November 11, 1773.

²¹ In this and the following lists taken from the newspapers, the titles are given first in the abbreviated form as they were printed. The short title is followed by the full author and title if known. The identification of the actual edition has been difficult and in many cases is only conjectural.

Hoyle's Games—Edmond Hoyle, *Mr. Hoyle's games of whist, quadrille, piquet, chess and backgammon, complete. In which are contained, the method of playing and betting at those games, upon equal, or advantageous terms. Including the laws of the several games.* 15th ed. London [1770?]

An elegant edition of Rousseau's Works, 10 vols. translated from the French—Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Works of Jean Jacques Rousseau. Translated from the French.* 10 vol. London, 1773-4.

Sketches from the History of Man, 2 vol. 4to. by Lord Kaim, newly published—Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man.* London, 1774. 2 vol.

Millar on the Distinction of Ranks in Society—John Millar, *Observations concerning the distinction of Ranks in Society.* 2d. ed., greatly enlarged. London, 1773.

Man of Feeling—Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling.* London, 1771.

Man of the World, 2 vols.—Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of the World.* 2 vol. London, 1773.

A Complet Assortment of British Poets.

Latin, Greek, and French school books, small histories for children.

He also listed as "just published" three American editions of popular eighteenth-century comedies:

George Colman, *Man of Business.* Philadelphia, John Dunlap, 1774.

Robert Hitchcock, *The Macaroni.* Philadelphia, William Woodhouse, 1774.

Hugh Kelly, *The School for Wives.* Philadelphia, John Dunlap, 1774.

In August, 1774, he announced as just published Josiah Quincy's *Observations on the Boston Port-Bill*, and advertised Henry Brooke's *Juliet Grenville: or, the History of the Human Heart*, of which he wrote: "It is recommended by the monthly reviewers as a novel of genius and uncommon merit, abounding with sentiments of the most refined kind, animated with the love of virtue."²²

Later in the year he offered a new assortment to the book lovers of Annapolis and the surrounding country. He announced on November 17, 1774, that he had just received:

Lord Kame's History of Man, 2 vol. 4to, newly published—Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man.* 2 vol. London, 1774.

Goldsmith's History of Greece, 2 vol. 8vo.—Oliver Goldsmith, *The Grecian History, from the earliest state to the death of Alexander the Great.* 2 vol. London, 1774.

Essay on Genius by Dr. Gerard, author of the Essay on Taste—Alexander Gerard. *An Essay on Genius.* London, 1774.

The British Poets, 20 vol. 12mo. elegantly printed on a fine writing paper—*The British Poets.* 20 vol. 12mo.

Essay on Public Happiness, 2 vol. 8vo.

The celebrated Dr. Gregory's Legacy to his Daughters, just published.—John

²² *Maryland Gazette*, August 25, 1774.

Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*. London, 1774. (Annapolis ed. printed in Philadelphia, 1775; Boston ed., 1779; many English editions, translated into French).

The Edinburgh Magazines—*The Edinburgh Magazine and Review*. [Edited by a Society of Gentlemen including David Hume, Adam Smith and others] 1773-1776.

Buchanan's Domestic Medicine, best London edition—William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine; or, the Family Physician*. London, 1774.

A variety of the best physical authors.

His advertisement of February 16, 1775, shows that he provided a large assortment of books on history as well as practical works on medicine and surveying:

Hume's History of England, 8 vol. last edition—David Hume, *The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*. New edition corrected. 8 vol. London, 1773.

Macaulay's History of England, 5 vol.—Mrs. Catherine Graham Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James I to the Elevation of the House of Hanover*. Edit. III. 5 vol. London, 1769-72.

Goldsmith's History of England, 4 vol.—Oliver Goldsmith, *The History of England, from the earliest times to the death of George II*. 4 vol. London, 1771.

Smollet's History of England, with the continuation, 16 vol.—Tobias Smollett, *A complete History of England, from the descent of Julius Caesar, to the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle*. With the continuation in 5 vol. 16 vol. London, c. 1770.

Lord Littleton's History of Henry II, 6 vol.—George Lyttleton, *The History of the Life of King Henry the Second, and of the age in which he lived*. 6 vol. London, 1767-73.

Entick's History of the Late War, 5 vol.—John Entick, *The general History of the late War: containing it's rise, progress and event in Europe, Asia, Africa and America*. 5 vol. London, c. 1772.

Hook's Roman History, 11 vol.—Nathaniel Hooke, *The Roman History from the building of Rome to the ruin of the Commonwealth*. 4th ed. 11 vol. London, 1766-71.

Bolingbroke's Philosophical Works, 5 vol.—Henry Saint-John Bolingbroke, *The Philosophical Works*. 5 vol. London, 1754.

Burn's Justice of the Peace, 4 vol. last edition—Richard Burn, *The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer*. 11th ed. 4 vol. London, 1770.

Blackstone's Commentaries, 4 vol.—William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. 6th ed. 4 vol. London, 1774. Or, possibly the 4 vol. Philadelphia edition published by Robert Bell in 1771-72.

Leland's History of Ireland, 4 vol.—Thomas Leland, *The History of Ireland, from the invasion of Henry II*. 3 vol. London, 1773.

Hanway's Travels, 2 vol. 4to—Jonas Hanway, *Travels through Russia into Persia* [in *The World Displayed*, v. 14-15. London, c. 1770.]

London Medical Essays, 4 vol.

Macbride's Practice of Physic, 4to.

Wyldes, Loves, and Wilson's Surveying—Samuel Wyld, *The Practical Surveyor, or The Art of Land-Measuring made easy*. 4th ed. London, 1760.

With John Love, *The Whole Art of Surveying*. 8th ed. London, 1768 and Henry Wilson, *Surveying improved; or the whole art, both in theory and practice, fully demonstrated . . . to which is now added, Geodesia accurata*. 6th ed. London, 1769.

Turkish Spy—*Letters writ by a Turkish Spy, who lived five and forty years in Paris . . . from 1637 to 1682*. 26th ed. London, 1770.

Connoisseur—*The connoisseur, by Mr. Town, critic and censor-general*. 6th ed. 4 vol. London, 1774.

Adventurer—*The Adventurer*. New ed. 4 vol. London, 1770.

World—*The World*, by Adam Fitz-Adam. New ed. 4 vol. London, 1772.

Idler—*The Idler*. 2 vol. London, 1761.

Preceptor.

His advertisement of April 13, 1775, reflects contemporary interest in political theory, particularly in its relation to the American colonies:

Journal of the whole proceedings of the continental congress, with General Gage's letter to P. Randolph, Esq.: and the petition to the king. Philadelphia, 1775.

An essay on the constitutional power of Great Britain over the colonies. "Likewise a variety of the latest political pamphlets."

On July 20, 1775, he advertised a large collection of second-hand books which he had purchased from the estate of a deceased clergyman.

a large assortment of books, in history, divinity, miscellanies, arts and sciences, poetry, physic, and a variety of classics, &c. (being partly the library of a clergyman lately deceased) amongst which are the following valuable books, Whitby's commentary on the new testament, 2 vols folio, best edition, 80s. London price is 50s. sterling. Cruden's concordance, 4to. 54s. Saunderson's algebra, 2 vols 4to, scarce, 35s. An elegant edition of Tillotson's sermons, 12 vols. octavo, 140s. Clark's sermons, 8 vols. octavo 80s. Prideaux's connections of the old and new testament, 4 vols. octavo, 40s. Locke on the human understanding, 2 vols. octavo, 22s6d. Smollet's History of England, with the continuation, 16 vol. 9£ 10s. . . . Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, 2 vols. 15s. Hume's Essays, 2 vols. 24s. Lord Kaime's elements of criticism, 2 vol. 24s. Beattie's essay on truth, octavo, 12s6d. Rousseau's Whole Works, 10 vols. 60s. Theobald's Shakespeare, 12 vols. 60s. Turkish Spy, 8 vols. 45s. Heyster's surgery, 2 vols. 4to. 60s. Hanway's Travels, 2 vols. 4to, 10s. Cullen's materia medica, 4to 30s. Lord Littleton's History of Henry 2nd, 6 vols. 3£ 10s. Etc.

In addition to selling books imported from abroad and publications from the presses of Philadelphia and New York, William Aikman published at Annapolis under his own imprint at least four titles in the short period from December, 1774, to August, 1775. As far as is known, he did not operate a printing press himself, but, like the London booksellers, he bought copies of the books he

PROPOSALS FOR ESTABLISHING A CIRCULATING LIBRARY, IN BALTIMORE-TOWN.



TO point out the advantages of such an institution, by enlarging on the happy influence which *good Books* have on the understanding, by setting forth the countenance which LIBRARIES have received from the *Literati* in all ages, by urging the delight and profit which our youth may reap from having opportunities of reading frequently, under the eye of their parents and friends, the best authors, or, indeed, to expatiate at all, in favour of a well-conducted CIRCULATING LIBRARY, would, to a people much less intelligent than the inhabitants of this place, be highly unnecessary; the intentional proprietor therefore, after observing that LIBRARIES have become objects of attention in every polite part of *America*, will only inform the Public, that, on being favoured with a suitable number of yearly subscribers, on the conditions undermentioned, he will immediately furnish a *Collection of Books*, not less than eight hundred volumes, by the best authors, with printed catalogues thereof, consisting of

<i>Latin Classics,</i>	<i>Rhetoric,</i>	<i>Adventures,</i>
<i>History,</i>	<i>Mathematics,</i>	<i>Miscellanies,</i>
<i>Poetry,</i>	<i>Astronomy,</i>	<i>Novels,</i>
<i>Religion,</i>	<i>Geography,</i>	<i>Plays,</i>
<i>Philosophy</i>	<i>Chronology,</i>	<i>Magazines,</i>
<i>Physic,</i>	<i>Cookery,</i>	<i>Memoirs,</i>
<i>Agriculture,</i>	<i>Voyages,</i>	<i>Pamphlets,</i>
<i>Logic,</i>	<i>Travels,</i>	<i>Essays,</i>

And every other work of *Merit, Erudition and true Humour*. The COLLECTION to be occasionally increased with the newest Publications from *London*, &c.

As the advantages of a Library need not be limited to the place where it is established, persons in the country adjacent, becoming subscribers, as is customary, may, with great convenience, be supplied with Books.

C O N D I T I O N S.

1st. Each subscriber to pay four dollars per year, in manner following, viz. one dollar upon their taking out the first book, after the establishment of the Library, of which proper notice will be given; one dollar, six months after; another dollar, nine months after; and the last dollar, at the expiration of the year.

2d. Subscribers in town, to have the privilege of taking books whenever they please, one only at a time.

3d. Subscribers at any distance from Town, to have the additional privilege of taking two books at once.

Other particulars to be communicated when the catalogues are printed.

As the season is advancing when the mind may, with convenience, be gratified and improved with the rational entertainment of reading, those Gentlemen and Ladies disposed to promote this much wished for institution, are requested to be speedy in sending their names, as subscribers, to the *Coffee-House*, the *Fountain-Inn*, and the *Printing-Office*, where subscription papers for the purpose of entering them are kept, that the intentional proprietor may be the sooner enabled to provide an ample collection of books. For the convenience of Gentlemen and Ladies of literary taste and discernment in the country adjacent, subscribers names will also be taken in at Mr. *David Armstrong's*, in the *Forest*, at Mr. *William McKnight's Tavern*, and at Mr. *Thomas Rickett's*, at *Elk-Ridge*, at which places also, proposals at large may be had gratis.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF RATHELL'S CIRCULATING LIBRARY, 1773

From the broadside in Maryland Historical library

published at wholesale prices from the printer with a special printed title page containing the imprint, "Printed for William Aikman, Bookseller and Stationer, at Annapolis."

In the order of their publication, the books bearing his name in the imprint are as follows:

1. Hawkesworth, John. A | New Voyage, | Round the World, | In the Years | 1768, 1769, 1770 and 1771; | Undertaken by Order of his present Majesty, | Performed By | Captain James Cook, In the Ship Endeavour, | . . . In two Volumes: | . . . New-York: | Printed for William Aikman, Bookseller and Stationer, | at Annapolis, 1774.

Printed by James Rivington and containing plate by Paul Revere. The New York edition, published by subscription, was an outright piracy of the English edition sold for three guineas. Rivington proposed to publish an American edition on March 16, 1774, "copied line after line from the London Edition" for one dollar and a half. He allowed booksellers a twenty percent discount and supplied it to them either in sheets, in paper covers or bound in leather. He also offered to put their name on the title page. Aikman's name was among the booksellers who received subscriptions to the New York edition but there were only three names in the list of subscribers from Maryland. The ambitious Maryland bookseller had arranged with Rivington to purchase copies wholesale with his name on the title page and to sell them to the Maryland subscribers as well as his regular customers. On December 1, 1774, it was announced in the *Maryland Gazette* as "This day is published, by William Aikman . . ." The Annapolis edition was sold for 16 shillings. He repeated the announcement on February 23, 1775. Copy of Vol. II at John Carter Brown Library.

2. Gregory, John. A | Father's Legacy | To His | Daughters. | By The Late | Dr. Gregory, | Of Edinburgh. | [double rule] | London, Printed: | Philadelphia: | Re-printed for William Aikman | In Annapolis. | [rule] | M, DCC, LXXV.

This was printed in Philadelphia by John Dunlap. It was announced as published on February 16, 1775, in the *Maryland Gazette*, copies of the trade edition bound and gilded for four shillings and copies of a special edition "thrown off on a superfine writing paper, elegantly bound and gilt" for five shillings six pence. Aikman stated that five thousand copies of the first London edition were sold in three weeks. Copy at Maryland Historical Society and Library of Congress.

3. [Stanhope, Philip Dormer. Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son . . . in four handsome volumes. New-York: Printed for William Aikman, Bookseller and Stationer, at Annapolis, 1775.]

This was printed in New York by John Rivington and Hugh Gaine in 1775 from the second London edition. See Sidney L. Gulick, Jr., "A Chesterfield Bibliography to 1800," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXIX (1935) No. 14. The New York edition was published in July and Aikman announced his edition on August 17, 1775. No copy known.

4. [Bartlet, J. The Gentleman Farrier's Repository . . . Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Cruikshank for William Aikman, 1775.]

Announced in the *Maryland Gazette*, August 24, 1775, "This day is published for, and to be sold by . . ." William Aikman. The first part contained ten minutes' advice to every gentleman planning to purchase a horse and the second part told how to treat the horse after it was purchased. No copy of Annapolis edition known.

All of Aikman's publications were piracies from the English editions, but neither he nor the New York and Philadelphia printers responsible, seem to have felt at all guilty about publishing them. Robert Bell, one of the earliest American publishers to pirate English editions, claimed that he was justified in doing so because it enabled American readers to purchase books which otherwise, because of their expense, would be beyond their reach. In his address to the subscribers of the Philadelphia edition of William Robertson's *History of the Reign of Charles the Fifth* (1770), he congratulated them on their making possible the publication of this American edition "at a price so moderate, that the Man of the Woods, as well as the Man of the Court, may now solace himself with Sentimental Delight." He wrote:

. . . some inimical incendiaries, who daily foster the exiguity of their understandings, by barricading their faculties in the vile and almost impregnable castle of ignorance, exotics to the native rights of American Freedom, have insinuated, that this Edition is an infraction on the monopoly of literary property in Great-Britain . . .²³

He quoted Blackstone to show that America was not necessarily governed by English laws and then, as an additional argument, claimed that if the Dublin booksellers could pirate English editions, there was no legal reason why the American publishers could not do the same. He added that the English copyright law does not reach into a country governed by an assembly "until they become so corrupted, as to barter away the birth-rights of the people. . . ." Although Rivington, the New York printer, was a staunch loyalist, he had no hesitancy in reprinting English editions or importing in wholesale lots the piracies of Dublin booksellers.²⁴ Even Benjamin Franklin, a close friend and correspondent of William Strahan, the prominent London bookseller who held the copyright to many of the pirated books, felt that book piracies were justified when they resulted in lowering the price of the volume. This early American attitude toward copyright is an interesting contrast to the general recognition today, except among certain American printers, of the overwhelming advantages of international copyright legislation.

Citizens of Annapolis probably found Aikman's bookshop and circulating library an attractive place in which to gather. In addition to the books, he sold what he termed "wet goods," which,

²³ William Robertson, *History of the Reign of Charles V*, III, p. [xx-xxv.]

²⁴ *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, LXI (1928), 255-256, 269. Rivington offered the cheap Irish editions to Henry Knox at the suggestion of Col. Olives, Mr. Quincy and Mr. Williams, of Boston, who saw the piracies in Rivington's home.

according to his advertisements, consisted of a few gross of "Old Port Wine of the best quality," London porter, ale and Cheshire cheese.

Aikman was not in sympathy with the course that political events were taking in Annapolis. When certain radical citizens assembled in June, 1774, and by a narrow margin passed a series of non-intercourse resolutions, including one forbidding lawyers to bring suit for the recovery of debts owing to English merchants, he joined a group of leading citizens in signing a public protest.²⁵ Like many of his fellow loyalists, he must have felt that the trouble would soon blow over. But as the tension increased in Annapolis and as the advertisements of departing loyalists filled the columns of the *Maryland Gazette*, he found that he had to make the momentous decision. On August 15, 1775, he announced:

As I intend for the West Indies in 20 days from this date, I am obliged to request of those who are indebted to me, that they will forthwith discharge their respective accounts; and to desire those to whom I am indebted to call upon me for payment.²⁶

In his next and last advertisement he said he was planning to leave September fourth. He kept his word, for when the postmaster of Annapolis sorted out the dead letters in his office in the Spring of the following year, he found three addressed to William Aikman, merchant.

Aikman arrived in Jamaica on October 21, 1775, and opened a stationery and bookstore. A few years later he went into partnership with David Douglas, better known through his connection with the Old American Company, perhaps the most active colonial theatrical company, and on May 1, 1779, they started the *Jamaica Mercury and Kingston Weekly Advertiser*, which after April, 1780, appeared under the more familiar title, the *Royal Gazette*. It was a strange quirk of fortune which brought the manager of the theatrical company which had for several years entertained citizens of the middle and southern colonies into partnership with the Annapolis bookseller. Aikman died in 1784, and his interests were taken over by Alexander Aikman, probably his brother, who had been forced to leave his printing business in Charleston because of his loyalist views.²⁷

Brief reference has already been made to an effort to begin a

²⁵ *Maryland Gazette*, June 2, 1774.

²⁶ *Maryland Gazette*, August 17, 1775.

²⁷ Frank Cundall, "The Press and Printers of Jamaica Prior to 1820," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (1916).

circulating library in Baltimore. Joseph Rathell, who proposed the scheme, had lived for a time in Philadelphia; his name is listed among the Philadelphia subscribers in Robert Bell's edition of Robertson's *History of Charles V* (1770) as a teacher of the English language. He taught school in Annapolis for a short time, but apparently felt that greater opportunity for advancement would be found in Baltimore. There was an increasing demand for schools and bookstores in this rapidly growing commercial center. Not long before Rathell's arrival, William Goddard began the first local newspaper and the town was becoming conscious of its cultural limitations. A subscriber of the *Maryland Journal*, in praising the merits of a weekly newspaper, suggested that Goddard print excerpts from English books which could be read aloud to children:

. . . what a pleasing occupation would it be for a fond parent, when he meets in a news-paper a few well-written lines on any improving subject to summon his little ones into his presence, and, with the hope of reward, stimulate them to an early ambition of excelling each other in reading and explaining such easy passages, as appear most capable of drawing their attention, and leaving a lasting impression on their tender minds: by such gently persuasive methods they would insensibly become habituated to reading and to the love of books, and, by degrees, change their puerile amusements for the noble studies which cultivate the manners and improve the understanding.²⁸

Rathell proposed to give public readings and to lecture several evenings a week. Doubtless these were well attended, for public lectures are known to have been popular in Baltimore after the Revolution.

Mr. Rathell proposes, for two or three evenings the ensuing winter, to *read, in public*, a few pieces from the most eminent English authors, and to *deliver* a lecture on the necessity, advantage, beauty, and propriety of a just vocal expression, wherein the use and elegance of accent, quantity, emphasis, and cadence, will be illustrated, and of which timely notice will be given to the public.²⁹

Later he conducted a night school for boys who wanted a knowledge of practical mathematics.³⁰

On October 16, 1773, he announced that he was planning to start a circulating library; a broadside containing the proposals was issued a week later.³¹ The terms of membership in his library differed only slightly from those proposed by William Rind and William Aikman.

²⁸ *Maryland Journal*, October 16-23, 1773.

²⁹ *Maryland Journal*, August 28, 1773.

³⁰ *Maryland Journal*, January 8-20, 1774.

³¹ L. C. Wroth, *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, No. 322.

THE
AMERICAN MUSE.

The CIRCULATING LIBRARY;

OR,

ADVANTAGES of READING.

THE love of KNOWLEDGE, as the first and best,
Needs not persuasion to secure the breast;
The willing soul the pleasing influence owns,
The sweets of learning for its toil atones.
When letters first illum'd the darken'd mind,
And charm'd the heart, and taught the biggot blind,
SCIENCE and TASTE the wreaths of magic spread,
And SENSE improving by their bands was led.

Progressive Skill, as GENIUS dar'd essay,
Or art improve the animating lay;
The bold Preceptors of the rising age,
The PRESS, the PULPIT, and the moral STAGE,
Bestow'd their labours with ennobling view,
As virtue's sons the scenes of virtue drew.

Here all their sweets, as flow'rs in gardens grow,
(For mental flow'rs in blooms eternal blow,)
Display their bright variety, to charm
The youth to virtue, and secure from harm:
Thus books o'ercome the ravages of time,
And make us live through ev'ry age and clime;
Thus GREECE and ROME we view in this late age,
And talk with CÆSAR o'er the silent page;
LYCURGUS, SOCRATES, and CATO too,
And deathless worthies of old times we view—
Rapt by the bard, or bath'd in pity's tears,
We soar with Gods triumphant o'er the spheres.

Here ev'ry useful monitor is plac'd,
To mend the heart or regulate the taste;
From HOMER high, to whom sweet charms belong,
To luckless CHATTERTON's enchanting song;
The fire of SHAKESPEARE, MILTON's strain divine,
WALLER's soft song, and THOMSON's deathless line—
Whate'er the antients or the moderns drew,
Whate'er is CURIOUS, GREAT, or GRAND, or NEW,
Are here collected, fit for ev'ry taste,
To form the mental never-cloying feast.

Baltimore, Mar. 1, 1787.



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His report, in November, that he had received a number of subscriptions but that there were still not enough to enable him to begin the library, sounds familiar. It is very likely that Aikman's offer to make his library available to the citizens of Baltimore, published on the same day as Rathell's proposals, and undoubtedly in order to forestall him, seriously undermined the plan for a circulating library in Baltimore. At any rate, Rathell could not get enough subscribers, and he gave up the project. Fortunately, unlike Rind, he had not bought the books in advance and therefore did not have his money tied up in an unprofitable investment.

The first successful circulating library in Baltimore was begun during the Revolution, and by 1790, at least three of them had been established.³² In 1787, a poem was published in a Baltimore newspaper which is reproduced here because it shows the contemporary interest in circulating libraries.³³

Lotteries were a familiar method of raising money for roads, bridges, schools, churches and other charitable purposes during the colonial period and as late as the middle of the nineteenth century when they were forbidden by the state legislatures. Individuals took advantage of the gambling instinct inherent in their fellow men by conducting private lotteries for their own benefit. Frequently prizes were given in merchandise so, strictly speaking, they were raffles rather than lotteries, though apparently the colonists did not bother about this little distinction in terminology. William Rind's attempt to dispose of his unprofitable circulating library by this method has already been mentioned. In several other lotteries in colonial Maryland, books were offered as prizes. On May 30, 1765, Thomas Sparrow, the first Maryland engraver and silversmith, announced "the Maryland Lottery," designed to dispose of land, silverplate, and a library which was described in the advertisement:

Also a Library of Books, selected from the best Authors, viz. Swift's Works, Pope's, Addison's, Shakespeare's Butler's Johnson's, Hooke's Smollett's, Congreve's, Gay's, Rowe's, Otway's and Steele's works; Chamber's Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, Owen's Ditto, Blaives Lex Mercatoria; Statutes at large, 8 vols. Quarto, a new Edition; McKnight's Harmony of the Gospels; Leland's Works; Parliamentary History of Great Britain, 24 vols; a general History of the World, in 40 vols; Lady Montague's celebrated Letters and Travels; Entick's History of all the Transactions of the late War; Smollett's, Hume's, Rapin's and Tindal's Histories of England;

³² J. T. Wheeler, *Maryland Press, 1777-1790*, partially unpublished master's thesis, pp. 114-119.

³³ *Maryland Gazette or the Baltimore Advertiser*, March 6, 1787.

and a very great variety of Books and other Articles, extreamly useful and ornamental.³⁴

Sparrow was unable to interest his neighbors in buying lottery tickets. But a year later, James Rivington, of Philadelphia, signed the advertisement and listed lottery agents in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chestertown, Georgetown and Williamsburg. Perhaps, under the direction of this able promoter, who subsequently became one of the leading booksellers and publishers in the colonies, the Maryland lottery was a success.³⁵

Another lottery, about which even less is known, was advertised in the Annapolis newspaper.

The Managers of the Bohemia Library Lottery hereby give Notice, That they will certainly Draw the same, at Caecil County Court-House, on Monday the 15th of August next.³⁶

The drawing was held as announced, and the winning numbers were printed in the *Maryland Gazette* on July 26, 1764.

Merchants and factors in the colony partially supplied the demand for books which in the northern colonies would have been taken care of by booksellers in the urban centers. In making an inventory of the goods belonging to Foster Cunliffe & Sons in the store at Oxford in 1765, Henry Callister listed the following books:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 11 plain bibles | 1 Phradras's Fables |
| 7 gilt ditto | 4 nomen Clatura [?] |
| 1 large prayer book | 1 sentinte [?] |
| 5 plain common prayer books | 33 horn books |
| 10 Oxford Testaments | 9 gilt primmers |
| 4 Introductions to the Latt. Tongue | 3 Bailey's dictionaries |
| 2 Latin Testaments | 2 Atkinson's Epitome |
| 14 psalters | 3 Crocker's Arithmeteck |
| 29 Chapman's books | 1 Ovids metamorp |
| 8 Latin Books | 1 Erasmus |
| 7 ditto | 3 mariners Compass's rectify |
| 3 ditto | 1 Mariners Callender ³⁷ |

Samuel Dorsey, Junior, proprietor of a general store at Elkridge Landing, like several other Maryland merchants, printed annually a list of new merchandise recently received from Europe. Books were sometimes mentioned in these advertisements:

³⁴ *Maryland Gazette or the Baltimore Advertiser*, March 6, 1787.

³⁵ See Victor Hugo Paltsits's excellent biographical sketch of him in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 15, 637-638.

³⁶ *Maryland Gazette*, July 28, 1763.

³⁷ Henry Callister letterbook, II, 233. Inventory 12 October 1756.

. . . Spelling Books, and small Books for Children, Plays, single Sermons, Baldwin's Daily Journal, Lady's Memorandum Book, Chapman Books, Bibles, and Testaments . . .³⁸

The inventory of Malcom Adams, an owner of a general store in Baltimore Town in 1767, shows that books were being sold there at an early date:

18 Quarto Bibels	Flavels Works in Fol
1 fine d ^o	5 Ambrose looking to Jesus
98 common d ^o	3 prima &c
6 Bibels with Notes	1 Ready Reckoner
1 fine d ^o 2 vol	1 Dodrids Rise & progress
1 d ^o all gilt	3 d ^o on Religion
4 Books of Grays Works	3 Rowes Letters
6 d ^o Confessions of Faith	3 Sherlocks on Death
1 Prideaux Connections 4 vol	6 Psalm Books
3 Mairs Bookkeeping	2 doz ^{on} & 3 Common Historys
1 Knox's History	4 plays
1 Watsons Body of Divinity	6 Gospel Sonnets
1 Bostons Sermons in 3 vol	9 Memories of Elizabeth Cavins
2 Catechisms Explained	4 D ^o of Thos Halliburton
1 Rollins ancient History 10 Vol	4 Guthries Tryals
4 Harveys Sermons	10 Wilsons Balm of Gilliad
3 D ^o s Dialogues 2 vol each	13 Wilsons Catichisms Explain'd
6 D ^o s Meditations	2 doz ⁿ & 3 d ^o on the Sacrament
2 Theron & Haspato 2 vol	3 Durhams Riches of Christ
2 Crookhanks History 2 vol	4 smiths on Judgment
2 Allans Works 2 vols	2 setts School Books
3 Rutherfords Letters	1 pair fine Bibles
2 Pattens Navigation	Spectator 7 vol.
3 Wise's Companion	1 Telimachus
1 Boyers French Grammer	1 Addisons Evidence
3 Watts Psalms	1 Gospel Mystery
5 Montagues Letters	1 Charles 12th
	5 plays ³⁹

The subscription list of Robert Bell's edition of Robertson's *History of Charles V* contains eighty-five Maryland names out of a total of five hundred listed. Merchants who sold books in their stores can readily be identified because Bell entered opposite their name the number of copies they desired:

Alexander Hamilton, Merchant, of Piscataway, 12 sets
 Hugh Lennox, Merchant, of Newton, Chester, 12 sets
 James M'Beth, Merchant, of Baltimore, 24 sets
 Thomas Williams, and Co., Merchants, of Annapolis, 24 sets.

The order books of the Annapolis firm of Wallace, Davidson and

³⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, May 30, 1765.

³⁹ Baltimore County Inventories, Liber H. 29 August 1767.

Johnson from 1771 to 1775 reveal the extent of the book importations handled by Maryland merchants. They owned a retail store in Annapolis and acted as agents in distributing iron, wheat and lumber produced in Maryland. At first they avoided the tobacco trade because they felt that it was too speculative but later they accepted consignments for sale in London. Two of the firm remained in Maryland, and Joshua Johnson, the third, opened an office in London where he could sell the raw materials received from the colony and provide his partners and his Maryland correspondents with the goods they desired. The ledgers in which he entered the orders from the colony have been preserved and remain a valuable record of goods imported at the close of the colonial period.

The first large consignment of books to his partners was sent on April 25, 1771, and contained:

Nineon de Lenclo's Letters, 2 Volumes

Saxbys Book of Rates

1 Sett of Chrsyall with they [sic] key

Tom Jones 4 Volumes

Tessot on the Health

2 doz the Newest Plays now acted at home to cost 6/ pr doz.

Likewise the following Plays.

Falce Delicacy

Clandestine Marriage

Desert Island

Consious Lovers

Suspicious Husband

Provoked Husband

Love in a Village

The Guardian

Comus

The Art of Cookery made plain & easy by a Lady the newest Edition

The Vanity of Human Wishes

The Family devotion by the Author of the System of Divinity

The Fool of Quality if ther is 5 Volumes if not dont send 'em

A commentary on Archbishop Seekers Letters to Lord Walpole concerning the establishment of Bishop's in America. Printed by Dilly in the Poultry.

Atkin's Reports 3 Volumes

Wilsons do 2 do bound together

Burns Ecclesiastical Law 4 or 5 small Books

5th Volum of Bacons Abridgement

Blackstons Commentaries 4 Volumes

3d Volum of Burrows Reports ⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 22. 25 April 1771. Hall of Records, Annapolis.

In November the following books were ordered:

2 Fennings Dictionaries	2 Setts Fool Quality
2 Bailies ditto	1 Sett Spectator
2 dyches ditto	1 Sett Guardian
1 doz Fennings Spelling Books	1 Sett Tatler
1 doz Dyches ditto	1 Sett Turkish Spy
4 doz small Histories	6 neat Bibles
1 doz small red & Green Morocco	6 common Bibles
Gilt Prayer Books	1 Sett Enticks late War
3 Doctor Tissot on Health	1 Sett dodsleys Poems
2 Setts Tom Jones	1 Sett Popes Homer
2 Setts crysall	1 Sett Shakespears Works
2 Setts R. Randum	4 doz Plays sorted some of the
2 Setts Peregrine Pickle	Newest
	1 Saxbys book of Rates ⁴¹

In March, 1772, he was asked to send a consignment of books containing several bibliographical tools helpful in collecting a private library:

Chronica Juridicialia Edition 8vo printed 1739 if continued down send it, or a latter Edition if any

Werralls last Bibliotheca Legum

Directions for a proper Choice of Authors to form a Library with a List of proper Books on the several subjects printed in 1766.

A Compleat Alphabetical Catalogue of Modern Books with the prices affixed printed in 1766 with the Appendix's since published to the present Time

A Catalogue of Modern Books with the different *Editions* Dates & Prices as Worralls

Bibliotheca Legum if any in print is also desired to be sent

Hanways Account of the Hospital for foundlings 8vo

The above are to be had of Mr. John Whiston Book Seller in Fleet street

Add to the above a small collection of any new Entertaining Novels & Plays

Send 10 or 20 Doz of old Magazines if to be had about 1/ pr doz

½ doz Glasses Cookery

1 of the latest Book of Rates

Amongst the assortment of Books let there be the following

3 Setts Humphry Clinker

6 Young mans Companion

Prior & Gays Poems 3 of each

2 new Bath Guides

2 Footes Works

1 Precepter

2 Lady M. W. Montagues Poems

2 Trisham Shandy 5 Vols

1 Shakespear's Works by Johnson

⁴¹ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 58-59. 26 November 1771.

- 1 Rollins Belles Lettres
- 3 Builders Jewel London Architect. 6 Bench Mates
- 1 Andrew Paladio.⁴²

In October, 1772, Richard Tilghman Earle, probably a store-keeper, ordered an assortment of books:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 2 large House Bibles | 3 Lissots on Health with Cadogans |
| 6 School do | Treatise on the Gout |
| 1 doz Testaments | 1 Spectator 8 Volumes |
| 2 doz Psalters | 2 Littletons Dialogues |
| 2 doz gilt Primmers | 1 Hirds Dialogues |
| 2 doz horn Books | 1 Vicar of Wakefield |
| 8 Common Prayer Books | 2 Mairs Book Keeping |
| 4 very good do | 1 Book of Rates by a Late Author |
| 2 doz Dilworths Spelling Books | shewing the Duties, Drawbacks |
| 2 doz entertaining & instructive | & Debentures &c on Goods in & |
| Books for Children | out. |
| 3 Johnsons Dictionarys | Feelings of the Heart to be ex- |
| 4 Gazetteers | changed |
| 1 doz Tom Jones | 1 Sett of the Art of Fencing famili- |
| 1 doz Sn. Charles Grandison— | arized or a new Treatise on the |
| abridged for Children | Art of Sword play by Mr. |
| 2 doz Chap Books | Oliver. ⁴³ |
| 2 Setts Preceptor | |

Johnson received several orders from Maryland merchants who wanted to stock their stores with books:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1 doz Dyches Spelling books | 4 doz Small histories Sorted |
| 1 doz Dilworths do | [cards] |
| 1/2 doz Testaments | 1/2 doz Bailey's Dictionaries |
| 1/2 doz Bibles | Statues at Large by Owen Ruffhead |
| 1/2 doz large Family do | Burrows Reports |
| 1/2 doz Common prayer books | Bacon's Abridgement of the Common |
| [paper and bound books] | Laws |
| 2 doz horn books | Lord Raymonds Reports |
| 2 doz Gilt Primmers | Strange's Reports All in English ⁴⁴ |
| [ink Powder] | |

William Lux ordered a collection of parliamentary debates in April, 1773.

- Debates in the House of Lords 1660 to 1742 in 8 Vols in 8vo Published by Chandler Cost new £2:8
- Debates in the House of Common, 1660 a 1742. 14 Vols do Published Chandler ditto £4:4
- Debates in the House of Common, 1620 1621 2 Vols Published by Gray £10

⁴² Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 78-79. 20 March 1772.

⁴³ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson I, 114-115. Richard Tilghman Earle 21 Oct. 1772.

⁴⁴ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book II, unpagd. Buchanan & Cowen [1773].

If the debates are continued to the present time, send them

Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws

Universal Magazine from 1 January 1763 to December 1772 bound & lettered

Junius Letters

Directions for a proper Choice of Authors to form a Library Printed for I Whiston 1766⁴⁵

Music was a popular pastime for Marylanders and the inventories of estates frequently mention violins, jews harps and other instruments. Johnson received an order for an assortment of musical instruments and books in 1773:

Musick

Weidmans second Setts of German Flute Concerts, Two Setts of a Single Concerto for the German Flute by Seignior Romenio. Two Setts of a Single Concerto for the German Flute by Mr Wendling. Two Setts Bowerdeinis Trios for 3 German Flutes.

The Overturé in 8 Parts. In Artaxerxes, The five first Numbers of the Monthly Military Concertos.

Two of Tansours New Musical Grammers, one C Clavinet of Colliers make.

[several quires of music paper bound up in oblong folios]

Two Setts of Apollos Cabinet or the Muses Delight An Accourate Collection of English & Italian Songs, Cantalas & Duetts set to Musick for the Harpsicord, Violin German Flute &c with Twelve Duetts for two French Horns Composed by Mr Charles and Instructions for the Voice, Violin Harpsicorde or Spinnet German Flute Common flute Haut-boy French Horn Bason and Bass-Violin

also A Compleat Musical Dictionary and Several Hundred English, Irish and Scotch Songs without Musick.⁴⁶

In 1774, he received personal orders for books from Alexander Hanson and Nathaniel Ramsey and was particularly requested to purchase them second-hand if possible.

Books for Alexn. Hanson

Hawkins's Pleas of the Crown

Harris's Practice in Chancery

Trials at Nisi Prices

Gilberts Practice in Common Pleas

Gilbert on Replevins

Heaths Maxims

Doctor & Student

The Art & Science of Pleading

Stranges Reports

Crookes Reports

Montesquieses Spirit of Laws

Lock on Government

Beallys Essay on Truth

Ferguson on Civil Society

Second Hand Books will be far most acceptable provided they be Sound & not of the oldest & Obslete Editions, but if such are not Conveniently to be Mr Johnson is desired to Purchase them new

⁴⁵ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 131. William Lux 2 April 1773.

⁴⁶ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 154. 24 May 1773.

For Nathl. Ramsey

Burrows reports 3 Vol folio

Theory of Evidence any Edition

Willsons reports any Edition

English Pleader do

Baron Gilberts Law of Evidence 2d Edition 1760 or a later Edition if to be had

Purchase these as the former at Second hand if you can.⁴⁷

Greenberry Chaney, a resident of Annapolis, asked him to send a set of Theobald's *Shakespeare*, Swift's *Works* and the *Spectator* and particularly requested that they be on "good paper & neatly bound."⁴⁸

Johnson also purchased paper, ink and type for the local printing shop which Anne Catherine Green was successfully operating with the aid of her sons.

Printing Utencils.⁴⁹

10 lbs Bourgeois thick spaces)
5 lbs Bourgeois M Quadrants) of Willm. Caslon.

4 doz strong Printing Ink)
4 doz weak do) of Mary Blackwell Woodseter [?]

He also furnished her with "two or three Magazines & a Parcel of the Newest Papers, to be sent her by every opportunity that offers."⁵⁰ From these she probably culled the information which filled her "Foreign News" columns.

There was a bookseller at Georgetown in Kent County in 1762, but how long he remained is not known. In a letter to Mr. Carmichael, father of William Carmichael, the American diplomat, Henry Callister suggested that they go up to Georgetown to look over his stock:

I want to keep your Charron [Pierre Charron, *Of Wisdom*] a little longer; I have not yet gone through. I know not whether it may not cost you & me some money to have a book seller so near us. I think the best way is for you to call here some fair day, that we may go together the next mornnig to George town & take a full view of the shop.⁵¹

Most of the book users on the Eastern Shore lived close enough so that a journey of a day or two on horse would enable them to visit the Philadelphia book-market. Under these circumstances the local bookseller probably found it difficult to make a living. Callister's first thought when he wanted to get a copy of the treaty

⁴⁷ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book II, unpagcd. WD&J [Ind. c. 1774.]

⁴⁸ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 167. 14 October 1773 Greenberry Chaney.

⁴⁹ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 68. 19 June 1772.

⁵⁰ Wallace, Davidson & Johnson Order Book I, 45. 4 August 1771.

⁵¹ Henry Callister letterbook, III, 508. HC to Mr. Carmichall, 6 March 1762.

made with the Indians of the Six Nations, at Lancaster in June 1744, was to send to Philadelphia for it.

Another evidence of the close contact with Philadelphia is the fact that many inhabitants of the Eastern Shore and some on the Western Shore of Maryland subscribed to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. When Franklin visited the colony in 1754, he appointed Thomas Ringold, of Chester Town, and William Young, of Joppa, his agents to collect the annual subscriptions.⁵² Philip Hughes, rector of Coventry Parish in Somerset County on the Eastern Shore, ordered his books of William Bradford, the Philadelphia printer and bookseller:

I should be obliged to you to forward any new Books or Productions of Genius to me, such as Pamphlets &c & you shall be payd with thanks.⁵³

The letterbooks of Henry Callister, Stephen Bordley, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, show that many of the books owned by Marylanders were imported directly from London in exchange for the annual tobacco shipment. This direct trade with London booksellers gradually decreased as the tobacco business became less important in the economic life of Maryland. The resulting development of bookstores and circulating libraries in Baltimore and the other population centers of Maryland is an important phase of the cultural history of the state which deserves investigation.

⁵² George S. Eddy, *Account Books Kept by Benjamin Franklin*, New York, 1929, pp. 110-111, 125-126.

⁵³ Philip Hughes to Wm. Bradford, 26 September 1768. In Wm. H. Corner papers at Maryland Historical Society.

AUDUBON AND HIS BALTIMORE PATRONS

By ROBINSON C. WATTERS

In my possession is a Baltimore City Directory for 1838 and also a well preserved set of Audubon's *Birds of America*, which were in the process of completion at the same period. The former is small with a brown muslin cover, the paper of fair quality and the printing very good considering the kind of hand press then used. The population including whites and blacks, the latter both free and slave, amounted to about one-tenth of what the census gives today, while Mr. R. J. Matchett, the painstaking editor and compiler of this compact little volume, has stated that it is the eighth *Director* the city so far has had. Known as Matchett's *Baltimore Director*, this was published by him at the northeast corner of Gay and Water streets, 1837-1838. At that time Samuel Smith was Mayor, William Grason, Governor of Maryland, and Martin Van Buren, President of the United States.¹

On white paper 4 inches by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the closely arranged names and addresses of inhabitants are preceded by emerald green and pumpkin yellow pages filled with various announcements, such as importers of hardware, tobacco, segars and snuff, drapers and tailors, famous medicines of which a partial list includes anti-bilious pills, elixir for violent colds and coughs, infallible ague and fever drops warranted to cure, itch ointment guaranteed to give relief by one application without mercury, a nervous cordial recommended as a grand restorative for inward weakness, Persian lotion for tetters and irruptions, essence and extract of mustard for rheumatism, damask salve, anodyne elixir for the cure of headaches, various toothache drops, eye water, corn plasters and other pharmaceutical matter to be taken for almost every malady then known.

Merchants and dealers are also offering brass and wood clocks, hides and leather goods, soap and candles, coach and fringe material, foreign fruits, preserves and nuts, umbrellas, parasols and canes, while the Phoenix Shot Tower as it was then termed—it re-

¹ This little directory belonged to my paternal parent who died in 1906 when senior member of the old firm of Armstrong, Cator & Co. which was founded in 1805 by Thomas Armstrong, a north Irishman, who emigrated to America in a sailing vessel. My father (William J. H. Watters) was born July 15th, 1834, on Parson's Creek, thirteen miles from where I am at present writing in Dorchester County, Maryland, and happened to be the son of a country physician who visited his patients while moving about on horseback with saddle bags containing medicines, live leeches and other items pertaining to his profession. However, it so transpired that at the age of thirteen, my parent, having been left an orphan, departed from his native soil to cast his lot in the alluring City of Baltimore where I was born.

mains standing today as a venerable landmark—is well illustrated with a clear wood cut in the center of an advertisement, at the bottom of which appears the name of Robert McKim, then president of the enterprise.

And now to check the names of certain citizens appearing in that little directory of a century ago with another list to be found in such a far different and elaborate publication as the first octavo edition of Audubon's *Birds of America*, an ornithological masterpiece. Within these original seven volumes are included the names of the first subscribers. Inasmuch as similar lists have usually been thrown out by bookbinders, it is rare nowadays to find an early publication of any character containing all of them.

With the little directory, I have carefully made comparisons so far as the volumes in my possession are concerned. Audubon's initial patrons total as follows: Baltimore 166, New York 116, Philadelphia 63, Charleston, S. C., 62, Boston 54, New Bedford, Mass., 46, and Richmond, Va., 32, while the remainder were distributed in lesser places over a wide field.

The number of pre-publication subscribers, so far as I am able to determine, amounted to 797—a goodly quantity when we consider that our nation was still young and travel and communication slow and tedious. However, as the early numbers began to appear additional sets were ordered here and there by zealous individuals. The final sales amounted to 1,198, and the subscribers in Boston eventually outnumbered those in Baltimore.² However, the sets which found their way into the homes of influential Baltimoreans were nearly one-fifth of the original total, and were distributed in an appreciative and cultured center where Audubon tarried and made numerous friends. One of these was Dr. Gideon B. Smith, a subscriber and a foremost supporter.³ The following letter to his family attests the welcome Audubon enjoyed here: ⁴

² F. H. Herrick, *Audubon the Naturalist*. New York, 1917. The work was in 100 parts issued at intervals during the years 1840-1844 at \$1.00 the part. For the elephant folio edition at \$1,000 the set the artist had found but five subscribers in Maryland. These were Robert Gilmor, John B. Morris, Dr. Thomas Edmondson, one of the Smiths, and the State itself.

³ Dr. Smith (1793-1867) first achieved prominence through his advocacy of silkworm culture in this country. This was in 1829 when he announced through the *American Farmer* the development of a new silk reel and advertised for sale silkworm eggs at the rate of 10,000 eggs for \$5.00. He became editor of this journal, was an entomologist of note, studied medicine at the University of Maryland and received his degree in 1840. He conducted in Baltimore the *Journal* of the American Silk Society, which was organized in this city at the National Silk Convention of 1838.

In token of obligation to Dr. Smith, Audubon gave the name "Smith's Longspur" to one of the bird species he discovered, not however a native or migrant in Maryland.

⁴ Reprinted in part from *The Auk*, 25: 166-169 (April, 1908) by permission.

Baltimore, Feb. 21st, 1840.
11 o'clock at night.

My dear friends

So far so good, but alas! I am now out of numbers to deliver to my subscribers here. Here! where I expected to procure a good number more. This list is composed of excellent men and all good pay. I have in my pocket upwards of one hundred names, whom I am assured are likely to subscribe. Therefor I will not leave Baltimore for some days to come at least. I forward a copy of this list to Chevalier by the same mail and yet you may as well inquire if he has received it. More numbers I must have as soon as possible as all my subscribers here are anxious about receiving their copies, unfortunately I had only 90 No. 2. I look upon this list as a capital list. I have sent Mr. Ridgley of Annapolis a No. 1 and a prospectus, and expect some names tomorrow evening from that quarter.

I will remit money to Phila. and will let you know how much as soon as I can. The box has arrived here safely and tomorrow or Monday I will deliver Biographies &c. Dr. Potter is very ill and poor and yet I hope to get his note before I leave here. . . .

The amount of attention which I have received here is quite bewildering, the very streets resound with my name, and I feel quite alarmed and queer as I trudge along. Mess. Meckle, Oldfield and the Brune family have all assisted me in the most kind and brotherly manner, indeed I may say that my success is mostly derived from these excellent persons.

. . . I feel that Theodore Anderson will not live long. Mr. Morris has not yet returned from Annapolis. See that the *notice* in the *Baltimore Patriot* which I sent you yesterday is inserted in the *Albion*, the *New York Gazette* and if possible in the *Courier* and *Enquirer*. . . .

I was invited last evening to a great ball, and should have gone had not my accident of shin bones prevented me. I am told that I would have had some 20 names there.

. . . Recollect that our agents name is Gideon B. Smith and a most worthy man he is, highly recommended by Robert Gilmore and others.⁵

[Unsigned]

The original Baltimore roster appears in the back of Part 1 which came off the press of J. B. Chevalier at Philadelphia in 1840 and contains the following charming introduction:

Having been frequently asked, for several years past, by numerous friends of science, both in America and Europe, to present to them and to the public a work on the Ornithology of our country, similar to my large work, but of such dimensions, and at such a price, as would enable every student or lover of nature to place in his Library, and look upon it during his leisure hours

⁵ The Marylanders mentioned here by surname only have been identified as David Ridgely, librarian of the State Library 1827 to 1842; Dr. Nathaniel D. Potter, author and member of the University of Maryland faculty; Robert Mickle, cashier of the National Union Bank for nearly half a century; Granville S. Oldfield, commission merchant; Frederick W. Brune Sr. and his family; Col. Theodore Anderson, long a customs official here; and George S. Morris, agent for Thistle Mills.

as a pleasing companion—I have undertaken the task with the hope that those good friends and the public will receive the “Birds of America,” in their present miniature form, with that favour and kindness they have already evinced toward one who never can cease to admire and to study with zeal and the most heartfelt reverence, the wonderful productions of an Almighty Creator

J. J. Audubon.

New York, Nov. 1839

If any descendants of these earlier citizens who possessed both virtue and liberality should happen to read this article, then would it not be interesting to observe the name of an honored ancestor who actually came in contact or pleasantly had met the immortal naturalist, famous backwoodsman, historic wanderer and incomparable bird artist, during his friendly sojourn in old Baltimore?

May it therefore be noted that Robert McKim was the first Baltimore subscriber, while the fourth in order of sequence became the original owner of the set from which I am quoting, obtained in my youth from the elderly and affable Mr. Schmidt who maintained a second-hand book store on the east side of North Howard street just above Madison. At the time of making this highly prized acquisition, I attended Marston's Preparatory School on Madison avenue just around the bend from Eutaw street and opposite Mount Calvary Church. At such a period I could not readily produce the anxiously needed sixty dollars that the verbose old Teuton was asking for what would now be a wonderful bargain. However, a person since departed and whose name I highly reverence, made such a cherished belonging possible, and now to paraphrase a part of Audubon's blissful introductory—‘I will look upon those beautiful colored plates and read his edifying text during my leisure hours as pleasing companions’—indeed a delightful memorial from which can be gleaned the beautiful spirit of wild life and alluring out-of-doors as a reverie that will abide until my end.

THE BALTIMORE PATRONS OF JOHN JAMES AUDUBON
ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

Robert McKim
John Gable
J. Q. Hewlett
Basil B. Gordon
P. E. Thomas
J. E. Atkinson
C. W. Pairo
R. M. R. Smith
Thomas P. Williams
Hough, Hupp & Co.

Samuel Hoffman
J. Pennington
Gustav W. Lurman
Robert P. Brown
H. D. Chapin
Capt. Samuel Ringold, U. S. A.
Robert Mickle
John V. L. McMahon
John Glenn
Wm. E. Mayhew

Evan T. Ellicott
 Elias Ellicott
 Samuel & Philip T. Ellicott
 Hugh McElderly
 Wm. McDonald & Son
 Thomas M. Smith
 Thomas Whitridge
 Samuel Hurlbut
 G. S. Oldfield
 John Hurst
 Francis T. King
 Wm. H. Beatty
 James W. Jenkins
 W. H. DeC. Wright
 John Ridgeley
 W. G. Harrison
 John Clark
 David Keener
 Charles Wyeth
 Enoch Pratt
 Martin Keith, Jr.
 James Harwood
 Samuel K. George
 M. N. Falls
 E. Jenner Smith
 Hon. Judge U. S. Heath
 William J. Albert
 George Baughman
 William Reynolds
 Miss Sarah F. Law
 General G. H. Stewart
 William N. Baker
 Richard Duvall
 George Brown
 Johns Hopkins
 Miss Emily Hoffman
 Ch. Simon
 A. B. Riely
 C. S. Fowler
 Charles F. Mayer
 Mrs. Samuel Feast
 H. Lee Roy Edgar
 Charles W. Karthause
 Thomas G. Pitts
 B. Deford
 R. Sturges
 Alexander Turnbull
 Philip T. George
 William Schley
 C. Kretzer
 D. S. Wilson

John Buckler, M. D.
 W. F. Brune
 John H. B. Latrobe
 J. Mason Campbell
 Com. Jacob Jones, U. S. N.
 John L. Dunkel
 Wm. H. Hoffman
 Robert A. Taylor
 Joseph Todhunter
 P. Macauley, M. D.
 Edward Patterson
 John Bradford
 George M. Gill
 Thomas Swan
 R. S. Stewart, M. D.
 St. Mary's College
 I. N. Nicollet
 W. C. Shaw
 Comfort Tiffany
 George W. Cox
 John C. Brune
 Edward Pitman
 J. McHenry Boyd
 George W. Dobbin
 T. Parkin Scott
 George T. Jenkins
 Hugh Jenkins
 John Nelson
 James Howard
 Frederick Rodewald
 John McTavish
 Samuel Riggs
 Thomas Harrison
 Andrew Aldridge
 John H. Alexander
 Samuel Jones, Jr.
 Thomas R. Ware
 George C. Howard
 Charles Fisher & Co.
 John R. Moore
 P. Baltzell
 Thomas Meredith
 Andrew D. Jones
 William Woodward
 J. S. Inloes
 S. T. Thompson
 John K. Randall
 William Kennedy
 Mark W. Jenkins
 James L. Hawkins
 Richard Plummer

James Armour
 Thomas W. Hall
 George C. Morton
 Wm. Stewart Appleton
 Alex. L. Boggs
 Hugh Birkhead
 Thomas Palmer
 A. B. Cleveland, M. D.
 Hon. Judge John Purviance
 George W. Hall
 Lambert Gettings
 Z. C. Lee
 John M. Harman
 Thomas Butler
 Gideon B. Smith, M. D.
 James Cheston
 James Gibson
 J. T. Ducatel
 Robert Gilmor
 Mrs. William S. Winder
 William C. Pogue
 Isaac Munroe

Robert M. Ludlow
 Charles Howard
 Robert S. Voss
 Charles A. Williamson
 Benjamin D. Higdon
 George Tiffney
 James H. Marston
 R. M. McDowell
 Plaskett & Cugle
 Benjamin C. Ward
 O. C. Tiffney
 Richard Sewell
 Reverdy Johnson
 Richard Linthicum
 H. G. D. Carroll
 Alonzo Lilly
 E. B. Loud
 George S. Norris
 Brantz Mayer
 Samuel McPherson
 Nathan Rogers
 David U. Brown

ANNAPOLIS PATRONS

R. W. Gill
 T. W. Franklin
 T. W. Wells
 Mrs. Bland
 Sommerville Pinckney
 Thomas H. Alexander

Wm. S. Green
 A. Randall
 G. R. Barber
 Col. J. B. Walbach, U. S. A.
 Capt. P. F. Voorhees, U. S. N.

ROBERT MILLS AND THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT IN BALTIMORE¹

"The man of business, the statesman, the patriot, the warrior, while surveying the monument of Washington, will feel a purer flame inspire his bosom, than does a pilgrim of Mecca, while worshipping at the tomb of Mahomet." Thus did Robert Mills, architect of the Washington Monument in Baltimore, speak of the effect which he hoped his work would have on the minds of those who saw the memorial. He made the observation towards the end of a series of "reflections," after he had written in his notebook a detailed description of the column he proposed for Baltimore. The scheme was changed before it was presented to the Board of Managers, and there were further alterations during the actual construction, but these words appear to have been a text which guided Mills throughout his labors.

The first step in the erection of a monument to the memory of George Washington was the presentation to the General Assembly of a petition for a lottery to raise money with which to defray the cost. The petition, signed by hundreds of Baltimore citizens, was got up in the latter part of the year 1809, just before the tenth anniversary of the death of the first President. The Act granting the request was passed and approved on January 6, 1810, and a Board of Managers of twenty-three members was appointed to direct the proceedings. John Comegys, the first president, served until his death in 1815, when he was succeeded by James A. Buchanan. David Winchester was treasurer and Eli Simkins (not a member of the Board) fulfilled the duties of secretary. The other members were Robert Gilmor, Jr., James Calhoun, Jr., Dr. James Cocke, Isaac McKim, Washington Hall, Lemuel Taylor, Nicholas G. Ridgely, James Williams, General William H. Winder, Nathaniel F. Williams, James Barroll, James Patridge, John Frick, Levi Hollingsworth, Fielding Lucas, Jr., Benj. H. Mullikin, George Hoffman, William Gwynn, Robert Miller, and Edward J. Coale.²

These gentlemen arranged for the conduct of the lottery, and after three years sufficient progress had been made to take the next step. At a meeting on February 15, 1813, it was voted to offer \$500 for the best plan of a monument not to exceed \$100,000 in cost. The

¹ Prepared for publication at request of the editor by William D. Hoyt, Jr.

² The texts of the petition and the Act, and the minutes of all the meetings of the Board are in a manuscript volume, "Papers Relating to Washington Monument," in the Maryland Historical Society library.



ORIGINAL DESIGN BY ROBERT MILLS FOR THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT,
BALTIMORE. FROM THE SOCIETY'S COLLECTIONS

offer was to be given publicity in America and Europe, and plans and estimates must be submitted by January 1, 1814 if the designer were in the country or May 1 if abroad. On December 30, 1813, the time limit was extended to April 15, and so it was May 2 before a decision was reached. At that time, the Board selected the design presented by Robert Mills, an architect of South Carolina, who had been studying with Benjamin H. Latrobe in Philadelphia.

The papers printed below trace in chronological sequence Mills' connection with the Washington Monument in Baltimore. Some of them are in the Maryland Historical Society, while copies of others have been supplied by Mr. Richard X. Evans, of Washington, D. C., a great-great-grandson of Mills and owner of an extensive collection of Mills letters.

I. THE DESIGNS.

The first paper is Mills' detailed plan for the monument, dated November 1813, and was probably written by the architect when he was preparing to enter the contest sponsored by the Board of Managers. It is contained in a slender, fifty-page blank book, which also includes several rough sketches and some calculations on the height and diameter of the various alternative columns shown. The most notable feature is the great care with which the detail of the decoration is described.

*Monument*³

To the memory of General Washington, to be erected in the city of Baltimore, of octagonal form from the base to the top—in height, magnitude and form to be according to the plan that may be selected from the number of six colums herewith presented.

To be constructed on the top a statue of exact likeness to the form & features of General Washington, mounted on horse back in the same military uniform, that he wore in the camp at the close of the revolutionary war. The steed to be of a color and form, that will represent his old charger, on which he was accustomed to ride in the army. The materials of the rider and horse, which are to be as large as life, to face the rising sun exactly, due East & to consist of pure brass. The interior part of the body of the monument to be composed of common granite or freestone and the whole of the exterior to be composed of white or light colored American marble, highly polished & hewed & shaped so as to form complete joints. From the base upwards to the first offset on the column eight feet, to be wrought at each angle the half of an octagonal pillar, cut diagonally nine inches diameter & both at the base and eight feet distant at the offset to be formed from angle to angle a cornice in the Tuscan order. (See Figure 1.) Or, if thought preferable, might be substituted for the foregoing, eight octagonal pillars, eight feet high & nine inches diameter, to be erected one at each angle of the column. On the tops of these pillars to be placed a cornice, consisting

³ In Maryland Historical Society collections.

of a marble slab eighteen inches in width and six inches in thickness, joining to and extending round the column. (See Figure 2.) The space or yard contiguous to the base of the column to be of diagonal $42\frac{2}{3}$ feet diameter, corresponding with the angles of the monument to be paved with blocks of party colored or variegated marble, hewn and polished on the upper surface. At the eight angles to be placed eight white marble posts about six feet in height, the tops of which to be formed into virgin heads and bosoms—their countenances to be highly finished and turned towards the spectators, displaying features, formed and proportioned on a modal of exquisit female beauty expressive of modesty & innocence.

All the posts to be made of white marble about nine inches diameter and of diagonal form. Between the angle or virgin posts to be placed simple posts about five feet in height—the railing to be of smooth iron bars varnished a jet black and to be fashioned according to fancy. On the East, West, North and South of the monument to be placed two gate posts with a gate. Over the gate way to be suspended an elegant arch, consisting of white marble, the two ends resting on the two posts of each gate, bearing over the centre of each gate on the front of the arch the arms of the United States. All round the yard, which incloses the monument, to be formed a gravel walk, eleven feet in width, surrounded by an open fence of wooden posts & railing, painted white with vacant spaces for entrance, opposite the gates. The whole fence to be of octagonal direction & parallel with the inner yard. At each angle post and in exact dissection with the virgin posts & angles of the column to be planted an ornamental shade tree. (See Figure 3.) On the monument in bass relief may be formed 4 courses of devices or emblems, each course to consist of eight groups of a description most aptly to represent the public character and important events, connected with the public transactions of General Washington from the commencement of the revolutionary war to the time of his death. All the devices to be emblematical of facts, which shall regularly succeed each other in the order of time, and to begin on the East side the monument, proceeding westwardly with the course of the sun in a horizontal direction round the column with a group on each of the eight squares.

The first course of the devices represents, The former colonial dependence and military achievements of the United States by which they acquired their national independence. The second, those public services of Washington, which are connected with the principal events, that transpired during his two presidencies. The third, shows divers cuts of Washington, while out of public office in his retirement at Mount vernon, since the revolutionary war, whereby he recognized & inforced by example important republican principles in projecting and carrying into effect divers extensive plans and institutions, useful to the community; and in the high duty of subordination to a free government, where a monarchy might have been substituted at his pleasure and the crown placed on his own head. Voluntarily retired from the highest public station in the gift of his government, to which he had been twice elevated by the unanimous choice of his countrymen he displayed in the unambitious walks of private life all the virtues of a private citizen. The fourth course of devices represents the happy effects of that independence & freedom, which were achieved and secured thru his skill, bravery and good management.

The first course represent the colonial dependence of the United States.

1 By 13 lams with a lion to watch them & by Dr. Franklin agent for the Colonies humbly presenting a petition in their behalf to his Britanic Majesty to repeal obnoxious acts of parliament.

2 Resistance to arbitrary measures of the British government.

By 3 ships in Boston harbour leaden with tea & men disguised as Indians in the act of throwing the tea over board.

3 Battle of Lexington when the first blood was shed in the revolutionary war by the British, who before being fired on, discharged their muskets at the Provincials and killed on the spot eight of the militia.

By the British commander on horse back in the attitude of pointing his sword at the militia—the regulars taking aim—8 Americans laying dead on the field & the militia retreating.

4 Washington appointed commander in chief.

By the president of Congress delivering to Washington a sword & a commission inscribed COMMANDER IN CHIEF—

5 The gloomy state & doubtful issue of American affairs in the fall of 1776. By the shabby starved looks of a few officers & soldiers retreating before the enemy.

6 Reverse of fortune, favorable to America, in the surrender of 900 Hessians at Trenton.

By the Hessian officers delivering their swords to the conqueror, while the captured privates were grounding their firelocks.

7 Surrender of Cornwallis—

By presenting his sword to Gen. Lincoln in presence of the Commander in chief, the prisoners grounding their firelocks.

8 Washington at the last meeting of his officers at the close of the war, taking leave of them.

By giving to an officer his right hand & holding a written address in his left, inscribed *Fellow Soldiers*—

2^d Course of Devices—

1 The languishment of commerce and the lack of public credit.

By a ship in the harbour stripped of her sails and cordage—Ship carpenters with their hands folded, idolling about, & soldiers in tattered uniform selling public securities to speculators.

2 Grand Federal Convention of the United States, with Washington for their president.

By the president standing up & holding in his hand the Constitution, inscribed *Constitution of the United States*, the members with their right hand up approving unanimously in a final vote.

3 Strong attachment & profound veneration to the first president elect on his way to the seat of government in New York, it being the first meeting of Congress under the new Constitution.

By the president on horse back, met on Trenton bridge by matrons in white, leading their daughters with baskets of flowers in their hands—and arch suspended over the bridge, on which is inscribed *The Defender of the mothers shall be the protector of the daughters*, over the

inscription a dome or cupola of flowers & ever greens, encircling the dates *December 26th 1776 & January 2^d 1777*.

4 Meeting of the first Congress under the new Constitution at the city of New York.

By the president with his speech in his hand, inclining forwards & addressing both houses of Congress.

5 Public credit supported & navigation and commerce flourishing.

By a ship on the stocks—the carpenters with their utensels laboring, another ship under full sail bound to sea.

6 A cabinet council, when the proclamation of neutrality was determined on.

By Hamilton & Jefferson in the attitude of arguing before the president.

7 The arts of civilized life imported to the savages.

By a public agent delivering to 3 Indian chiefs a plow, a hoe a sickle, a spinning wheel & a loom.

8 After the close of the second presidency, when the public, official services of president Washington terminated, his arrival at Mount vernon welcomed.

By M^{rs} Washington with two gentlemen residing in her family, attended by two domestics, stepping out to receive the president from the carriage & bid him welcome.

3^d Course of devices

1 General Washington's principle of extending civil freedom to men of all descriptions.

By presenting with his own hand to a slave a written grant of manumission, inscribed FREEDOM.

2 His punctual performance of the minor, the essential public duties of a citizen in private life.

By presenting at the poll a written ballot for a representative (having once ridden for that purpose several miles in a stormy day).

3 By delivering into court as foreman of a traverse jury a virdict (he having been selected into the office of a juror by his own consent, after retiring from the second presidency).

4 His regard for the religion of his country & for religious institutions.

By a preacher in the pulpit with his bible & Washington in his pew with his psalm book in his hand.

5 His taste for rural labors.

By being placed in the midst of a group of his laborers in the field.

6 His zeal for public plans of extensive usefulness.

By surveying the face of the country with 2 or 3 associates, holding in one hand a surveyors compass & in the other a surveyors chain.

7 By his presence in a public school inspecting the mode by which a master instructs his scholars.

8 The establishment of the society of Cincinnati to perpetuate the remembrance of the revolutionary officers.

By copying the device of their medal and an officer with some remnants of an old uniform holding a plow.

4th Course of devices—

1 By the American eagle holding the declaration of Independence in his beak, on which is inscribed *Freedom & Independence*, and grasping in one talion a sword & in the other an olive branch.

2 Agriculture.

By a plow hitched to a pair of bullocks, a scythe, sickle, cart, a tobacco, a rice, a cotton plant & sheaf of wheat.

3 The fisheries.

By a fisherman pulling out of the water by hook and line & a codfish; & a whaleman aiming a harpoon at a whale.

4 The Mechanic Arts.

A broad ax, an augur, a chisel, blacksmith's hammer, an anvil & tongs—some ship carpenter tools—a work bench a square & compasses.

5 Manufactures.

Manufacturing tools, a spinning wheel—a loom & appearances of a fulling mill.

6 The Sciences.

Franklin conducting lightening from the clouds & Retinghouse inspecting an orrery.

7 Commerce & Navigation.

Neptune emerging from the ocean, grasping his trident in one hand and the declaration of Independence in the other.

8 National bravery & nautical skill.

Mars with all the emblems of war—a 44 gun frigate with her deck cleared for action bearing down upon the enemy.

The courses of devices may be formed round the column, beginning so far from the top as to be viewed distinctly and proceeding towards the base at proper distances from each other. And they may be wrought on such parts of the column as will render them most ornimental & intelligible.

Should the foregoing devices or emblems be thought too numerous and complex to ornament a monumental column one of the two following sets of devices consisting of four groups each, may be substituted. Each group of devices to be extended over two sides of the column—the angle being supposed obtuse enough to present like as a plain to the eye the devices of two sides or squares at once. In this manner four groups would surround the column, which groups I propose to place about half way between the base and top.

1 The bravery, vigor & innocence of national Infancy represented By Hercules in cradle, strangling a serpent, which came to molest him & thirteen lambs with a lion to watch and protect them.

2 The spirit of the nation in manhood displayed in understanding and asserting her rights.

By a large eagle holding in her beak the constitution of the United States, inscribed FREE & INDEPENDENT, reposing firmly one foot on the alter of Freedom & pressing the other on the paw of a lion rampant.

3 The effects of national Independence & freedom, displayed by the various fruits of industry, in agriculture, commerce, the mechanic arts & sciences.

By a sheep, a plow hitched to a pair of bullocks, a sheef of wheat, a rice, cotton & tobacco plant—a pine tree, a whale—a codfish—one ship discharging import & another under full sail, bound to sea—a broadax—a square & pair compasses—a spinning wheel & a loom.

4 A state of peace the best policy of the nation.

By a lamb standing over a wolf, while reposing on the ground, asleep and reposing by the side of a kid & a calf by a young lion, round the neck of which a little child extends his arms—a cow and a bear feeding side by side and the calf & cub laying down together.

Or, the following might be substituted for the last four mentioned groups.

1 Mars delivering to Washington a sword & instructing him in the art of war.

2 The goddess of Liberty directing him to the temple of Freedom, which is supported by thirteen pillars.

3 Minerva inspiring him with wisdom & enterprise & instructing him in the arts of civil polity.

4 The effects of Washington's patriotism & public services displayed. By the goddess Ceres with her lap covered with a cornucopia.

The simple historical facts or events represented by the respective emblems or devices above, may on the same side of the monument down near the base be inscribed with their exact dates. And to facilitate the explanation of the several groups, they might be each numbered the same as the description of events they are intended to represent. The designer and the artist may select from the various devices I have presented such as may be deemed most appropriate. Or from the same devices, or such others as he may himself conceive, or design, may form such new groups or combinations as can with the most facility, be laid out & executed in the work. Men, animals and other small objects may be drawn on a scale of 3 or 4 inches to the foot. Objects of great magnitude, such as ships must be diminished to a convenient size, that will not bear a proportion with other objects. If, to save expense or for any other purpose it should seem most proper, all devices and inscriptions may be omitted.

On the space or side of the monument opposite the Eastern gate, between the pavement & first offsets, General Washington's exact likeness may be formed in bass relief under which might be inscribed the following

To the Memory
of
George Washington
Commander in chief of the American Army
During the revolutionary war
First president of the United States
Under the new Constitution
He was born 22^d Feb. 1732—
He died 14th Decr. 1799—
This monument was erected
As a voluntary tribute
Of respect and veneration
Due to his exalted merit
By his fellow countrymen
May 1814—

Under this inscription might be placed an elegant urn, encircled by two sprigs of cypress with the figure of Liberty, inclining over the urn in a mournful posture.

From the several plans for a monument herewith presented the board of managers can adopt the one most agreeable to their fancy, in erecting which an expence will not be incurred exceeding the fund proposed. I have endeavored to impart to the intended monument a figure & a color, which according to the most approved authors on taste is conformable to the qualities of beauty and elegance; which qualities may be reduced to the following—comparatively small—smooth—variety in the direction of the parts—not of a clumsy or heavy figure by too much thickness for the height or length—but rather of a slender, airy form—no angles but such as are obtuse, or nearly approaching a circular curve, a weak white or light color.—

The devices are intended to present in a birds eye view an emblematical history of Washington's public life; or in other words, the most important events in the most important era of the history of the United States for 25 years in a manner that would best display the extraordinary character of the principal actor in the drama. But a simple column without any devices or inscriptions may be erected, if such as have been suggested should seem too numerous, complex, expensive, inappropriate, or inexpedient.

Reflections.

On a design for a monument of Washington.

A monument is designed for the commemoration of some great event, or for a remembrance of a public character, who has been distinguished by performing great & good actions for his country. It being a strong & permanent testimony of public approbation, its general design, particular devices & inscriptions should be simple, expressive and significant, that they might bring home to the immediate recollection of a spectator the events & the virtues it was intended to commemorate. The form or figure should be such as to combine all the qualities which would render it a most beautiful object. The materials should be solid durable and rare; and the workmanship executed with the most exquisite taste and skill that the monument might exhibit the best specimen of the fine arts for the age and country in which it was created; and that all who approached it might feel the power

of the artist in exciting the love of country and the love of virtue. The monument of Washington being intended to preserve the remembrance and to honor the character of one of the greatest & best men that this or any other country has produced, will show to after ages, that the great republic, whose foundation he laid and whose prosperity he effected, has not been ungrateful to his memory. By celebrating the virtues of a man, who formed a most extraordinary assemblage of moral & intellectual endowments, that rested not in mere abstract speculation, but shown out in the most uniform exemplary deportment, active zeal & uncommon performances, embracing the various & complicated interests of society—by celebrating the virtues of such a man, I say, we excite that virtuous emulation, which is the firmest support of a republic Washington was, perhaps, as perfect a model of human excellence in the aggregate as has appeared among men since the Savior of the world. Testimonials of honor from his countrymen will never make virtuous praise cheap. So rare are such objects of eulogy, that applause will not depreciate by being profusely lavished. Commendations bestowed on him are not the effect of cold formal parade, dictated partly by a love for false grandeur & partly by the passion of servile fear. They are the sincere spontaneous effusions of a heart, penetrated with a sense of his preeminent worth & moved from its own voluntary impulse to make a free will offering.

The man of business, the statesman, the patriot, the warrior, while surveying the monument of Washington, will feel a purer flame inspire his bosom, than does a pilgrim of Mecca, while worshipping at the tomb of Mahomet. The monumental honors of Washington will excite in the minds of ingenious youth an ambition to deserve by great achievements that fame, which is sanctioned by the purest virtue & can be obtained only by a series of arduous & unwearied labors. If the poets & the painters, the historians and the artists have bestowed their best skill & most diligent labors to extend and perpetuate the fame of tyrants, who have in overcoming the countries, subjected to their sway, taken life from the one half of the people, that they might deprive the other half of their civil freedom, what honors should be conferred on the man, who has always aimed to prevent the effusion of human blood by attempting to preserve peace & to dignify the splendor of victory by mitigating as much as possible the unavoidable calamities of war? If all the fine arts have been put in requisition by chringing courtiers & dependents to immortalize an Alexander the Great, a Charles XII or a Bonaparte, what sacrifice of wealth, what human efforts in skill & labor ought republican America to consider too great in rearing a monument to her Washington? The foundation of their fame consists in multiplying human miseries by depriving whole nations of life or liberty, that of his in multiplying the means of human happiness, & inwresting from servile, colonial dependence a brave people, animated with the love of freedom & restoring them to that liberty they aspired to & to that political independence, of which their valor, their intelligence & their patriotism had rendered them worthy. The heroes of ancient & modern story have sought fame by the most formidable display of their power—he by rendering his power subservient to his virtue. Their means of renown were commensurate with their power to lay waste & to excite terror, his were restricted by the most severe councils of an enlightened conscience. They labored to acquire—he to deserve glory.—

(Nov^r. 1813.)

The second paper is Mills' letter of transmittal which accompanied his entry in the contest for the design. He takes advantage of this rather informal communication to tell something of his own training and experience. He was now aged 33.

Philadelphia January 12th 1814 ⁴

The Honorable

The Board of Managers of the Washington }
Monument. Baltimore }

Gentlemen,

Through your indulgence in granting me a little time beyond the period fixed upon in your advertisement, for designs for the Monument you purpose to erect to commemorate the inestimable virtues and glorious deeds of the immortal Washington, I have now the honor of submitting to your consideration the result of my labors towards accomplishing the Wishes of your honorable board—Accompanying this letter you will find a book of designs with a description of the Monument and a large Drawing exhibiting one of the principal fronts in geometrical elevation—The whole of the drawings are projected upon geometrical principals, as being best calculated to convey a correct view of the proportions and Character of the mass, in order to judge of the practicability of the structure; This mode of exhibiting a building where it is wished to produce an effect of beauty exciting Interest, falls much short of that for which the aid of perspective is called in; Perhaps I may have the pleasure of exhibiting to you a picturesque view of my design which will place it in a point of sight more to its advantage should its general principles meet your approbation : It would afford me much satisfaction if what I have done should merit your partiality. Being an American by Birth and having also the honor of being the first American who has passed through a regular course of Study of Architecture in his own Country, it is natural for me to feel much Solicitude to aspire to the honor of raising a Monument to the memory of our illustrious Countryman. The Education I have received being altogether American and unmixed with European habits, I can safely present the design submitted as American founded upon those general principles prefaced in the description contained in the Book of Designs. For the honor of our Country, my sincere wish is that it may not be said; To foreign Genius and to foreign hands we are indebted for a Monument to perpetuate the Glory of our beloved Chief. Owing to some particular engagements the past year I have been unable to do that Justice to the Subject of this Monument which it was my earnest wish to accomplish: The general principle or Outline of the Design however I have had long under Consideration, and on comparing it with many others that suggested themselves, I feel a confidence in recommending it to your favor, particularly as from its simplicity of Character and with proper attention to the Detail of decoration its Execution may be brought within the scope of One hundred thousand dollars—On the subject of these decorations I would observe as they are secondary in their Objects, time and consideration may enable me to improve their appropriate Character should I be gratified with your Confidence; with this I may be able here after to suggest many Ideas

⁴ From the Society's collections.

which may be found interesting—As I have dwelt so long on this subject permit me Gentlemen to solicit your Indulgence yet a little further: As I have not the pleasure of being known to you, allow me the liberty of laying before you some information relative to my professional Capacity that in the Event of your Opinion being favorable to my wishes I may take the opportunity of recommending to you my further Services in carrying your Design into execution—The letters of introduction with which some of my friends have obligingly furnished me, though they speak much more in my favor than I can offer, yet I would beg leave to refer you to them for the information I would communicate. What further explanation or information I can give relative to my design I shall be happy to lay before you.

With every desire of being useful and wishing you every success to your laudable exertions to do Justice to the virtues of so great and exalted a Character as our Washington I salute you Gentlemen with respect—

Robt. Mills.
of S^o Carolina
Architect Ph^a

The third paper is Mills' formal statement of his plan, much underlined for emphasis. It is written in a bound volume, and is followed by seven sheets of drawings of the proposed monument. There are colored sketches of the principal fronts, the "second fronts," a section through the center, the plan of the great capital, the plan half way up the column, the plan at the top, and two plans at the base.

Gentlemen ⁵

In laying the designs herewith submitted, before you, I would beg leave to make a few remarks upon *Monuments* in general, before I proceed to describe the one I have the honor now to present.

The *character* that ought to designate all *Monuments* should be, solidity, simplicity, and that degree of cheerfulness which should tempt the contemplation of the mind, and not occasion it to turn away in gloom or disgust; A Monument intended to perpetuate the Virtues of the deceased, should particularly carry with it, an air of cheerful gravity; & We, who live under the light of the Christian revelation, should be cautious, to avoid, as much the frivolity of Heathen superstition, as the gloom of Egyptian darkness. The Monument which now claims our Attention, is intended to be erected, not only to hand down to posterity, the *Virtues* of a *Man*, but the *glory* of a *Hero*; it therefore should combine two characters in its design, the *Sarcophagic* and *Military*. Monuments *isolated*, or in the open air, should be *towering*, and commanding in their elevation, especially when they are encircled by a City, otherwise its *popular* intention is frustrated. A *Triumphal* monument having much to record of *historical* fact, should present to the sculptor as much surface as its extent of design will admit of, and as *inscriptions* contain within themselves much of *enrichment*, but few of *emblematic* or hieroglyphic decorations are required. On the subject of decoration in general, I would beg leave to observe, that it has ever been

⁵ From the Society's collections.

my study to make these subservient, or secondary, to the main design, and whenever introduced, that they should carry the mark of utility on their face, as well as possess a character of reference to the subject they would represent. I shall not take up your time by entering into an examination or Description of the designs of ancient or modern monuments, or attempt to draw any comparison between them and the one I have the honor now to submit to your consideration, because this can answer no good end at present; Your own information on the subject, can supply what ideas may be necessary, in determining, whether *this* design does not possess some originality, and whether this originality has sufficient merit to recommend it to the honor to which it aspires—Permit me now to draw your attention to the *description* of the design in question;—The *Mass*, presents the appearance of a *Greek Column*, elevated on a grand *pedestal*; the column assumes the *doric* proportions, which possess solidity, and simplicity of character, emblematic of that of the illustrious *personage* to whose memory it is dedicated, and harmonising with the spirit of our Government; The *pedestal* of this column is a *square mass*, broken on each *front* by projecting *wings*;—the *main fronts* are supported by a screen of *doric columns*, through the center of which, a grand *archway* is pierced; The number of *Voussoirs* comprising this *Voussure*, correspond with the number of *States* in the Union, each State being designated by a Star encircled by a *Coronna Triumphalis*; On the *key voussoir* or *Key Stone* the *Arms* of the *United States* are represented in *Basso relievo*. The *Ornaments* enriching these fronts are the following; Central, The name of the illustrious WASHINGTON, in *Roman Characters* on a broad *Frieze*; The *Wing buildings* are surmounted with *Trophies of Victory*.* On the face of the wing buildings are sculptured, the *Arms of Maryland & Virginia* encircled by appropriate *Wreaths*, on each side of which is represented an inverted *torch*, with a *Star* below (*Sarcophagic emblems*); Under the *Insignia of Maryland* are inscribed, words to the following effect: "The gratitude of Maryland bids this public testimony rise to commemorate her love, to her political Father and Benefactor, Washington." Under the *Insignia of Virginia* are inscribed, words to the following effect "Virginia gave our Hero Birth,—Virginia saw our Hero die."—The *secondary fronts* present a grand flight of *Steps* which lead up to a *Colonnade* through which you pass into the Monument and by an inner flight of *Steps* ascend to the grand platform: Over the wing buildings the *Trophies of Victory* are seen in profile—Over the Arch of Entrance under the *Colonnade* the name of WASHINGTON is again inscribed, and on the faces of the wing buildings are sculptured similar insignia and inscriptions to those on the front: The whole of *this Mass*, occupies an extent on the plan, of 65 ft. by 50 ft. and an elevation of 20 feet independent of the *Trophies of Victory*.

Arrived at the *platform* which crowns this pedestal, and which is inclosed by a balustrade, we see the commencement of the *great Column*, The diameter of this is more than 20 feet and its elevation above 120 ft. divided in its height by Six iron railed *galleries*, which encircle it like bands, presenting *promenades* to accommodate the reading of those *historical* inscriptions recorded on the shaft of the *column*. The number of *Compartments* on the

* (In place of the military *Trophies Statues* of 4 of our most distinguished Generals may be placed, or emblematic statues representing the Unity of the people, the gratitude of Maryland, the Genius of America &c.)

shaft, answer to the eventful years of our *revolution*: The record begins with the memorable year 1776, and is brought down to the period of the surrender of Lord *Cornwallis* at York in 1781. The records subsequent to this, are inscribed upon the *base* of the Column; Those preceeding the great commencing period find a place at the top—

The *plan* of *inscription* that suggests itself for our adoption seems to be the following; to record the *main historical facts* connected with our *Revolution*, for these are so closely interwoven with the Life of our *national Father*, that a brief statement of these, under the different years they occurred, would present the *best view* to posterity of the Greatness, Excellence & Wisdom of that Man whose memory with blessings shall live through every age, & whose every word merits to be recorded in characters of Light: Another circumstance connects itself with the adoption of *this* plan, which is peculiarly interesting; That of enrolling the *names* & recounting the *services* of those illustrious *Men* who were his *Compatriots* in Arms & whom he delighted to honor: The names of these great men come in so necessarily when recording those battles &c in which the wisdom and valor of their Chief were manifest, that a few words will speak *here* what would require a Volume *elsewhere*. When will an opportunity so honorable to Maryland again occur, & at an Expence so trivial, to do justice to the Memories of men to whose exertions & sacrifices we owe so much? On an examination of the drawing you will find the general outline of the method of arranging this plan of Inscription: On the lower Compartment of the Column and under the Year 1781. is a representation of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at York, in Basso Relievo: In this place I would beg leave to remark that there is another event in the Life of Washington that presents a noble Subject for Sculpture and which exhibits the character of that Great Man in a point of view strikingly grand; I allude to the *period* when Congress was in Session at *Annapolis* in Maryland, when amid a crowd of Spectators we behold him *resigning* his Sword & Commission as Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States, into the hands of The *President of Congress*; As this interesting Scene took place in Maryland and as *Maryland* first erects a public Testimony of her Gratitude to the *Hero*, it may present itself as a subject for Consideration (should the designs which I have the honor of laying before you meet, your favorable indulgence & approbation) whether *Maryland* does not claim *this subject* for special Record in preference to the other,—provided only One can be executed—The Chapters of historical Events, inscribed upon the Shaft of the great Column, are separated by military & Sarcophagic emblems; The years in which the events take place stand at the head of the Chapters encircled by military wreaths, The circular Space which these occupy form apertures which light the interior of the monument. The enrichments of the Echinus (or grand moulding of the Capital of the Column) are constituted of these words, "George Washington the Father of his Country." These are cast in Brass & Iron as well as the entire Capital with its decorations—This great Column is surmounted by a *Quadriga* or Chariot of Victory in which is represented the immortal *Washington* in military Costume guided by *Victory*. It will be unnecessary here to enter into any detail of description of this commanding Groupe, the drawing being sufficient to point out its general effect and appropriate Character. The whole Mass is proposed to be cast in Brass together with the Zocle or platform upon which it rests: The Object in making the body of the Zocle

hollow is for the purpose of producing the Effect now to be described: The *interior* structure of this monument presents a *double* wall, between which ascend the *steps* that communicate with all the galleries & the top of the Column; this mode of Construction produces the effect in strength, of a thickness of Wall equal to the section of both the Walls & Steps; The Space occupied by the Walls & Steps being not equal to the diameter of the great Column, leaves a Circular space in the *Center* of the Monument which opens a *view* from the *Base* to the *Apex* of the Column; This aperture descends and intersects the *Vault* of the great *arch-way*, pierced through the fronts of the grand pedestal, by which you command an *interior view* from the pavement of the *Street* to the *Zocle* of the Quadriga, a height of at least 140 feet; The Eye in directing its view along this dim and elongated *Vault*, is immediately arrested by a brilliant *light* that terminates its length, This effect is the result of opening the sides of the *Zocle* of the Quadriga mentioned above and it will prove an object as novel as curious—The Material proposed to be used in the Construction of this Monument is Marble; Its superiority, strength, beauty and durability, recommend it above every other to our Notice, the abundance of it in the vicinity of *Baltimore*, gives every advantage in obtaining it and that upon reasonable grounds of cost. It will be unnecessary to enter into an Explanation of the plans contained in the book of designs as what is written upon them will suffice to point out their local references, and as it will occupy too much of your time and serve no good purpose *now* to enter into the detail of construction, I shall close my observations after expressing *the* wish, as an American, that the design I have now the pleasure of submitting to you may be found worthy of that attention, which shall entitle me to the high honor, of contributing my mite to exhibit to admiring Ages, yet unborn, the glorious deeds of the Hero and Statesman, the exalted worth of the Father of our Country, The IMMORTAL WASHINGTON.

With sentiments of respect

Gentlemen

I salute you

Rob^t. Mills

Arch^t. Philadelphia

The honorable

The board of Managers
of Washington Monument
Baltimore.

The next two letters were written by Mills to follow up his original presentation to the Board of Managers. It is quite possible that the second one, undated and unsigned, was a partial draft of the first.

Philadelphia April 6th 1814^o

Dear Sir

Permit me to encroach on your goodness in asking the favor of you to lay this letter before the Board of Managers of the Washington Monument, with a drawing which I have this day forwarded (in a box) pr. the Union line of packets directed to Eli Simkins Esq^r. Baltimore.

^o From the Society's collections.

In my former communication to the Board I anticipated that perhaps I might be able before the final decision of the question of the design was made to transmit them a *Perspective view*, of the Monument I had the honor of laying before them. This I have now accomplished, and in the box addressed to Mr. Simkins you will find this view, which though not highly or nearly finished will give such a general idea of the Character and Mass of the building which a simple geometrical view never is capable of presenting.—I must apologise, if the scenery in the back ground is not altogether correct; the hasty sketch I made of it while in Baltimore, and perhaps some liberties taken to produce what painters call effect, may justify or excuse the errors.

On the ground of *cost* I would repeat what I have already observed, that the nature of the design I have submitted admits of any extension or retraction of expenditures which the circumstances or the views of the Board may demand.—If the *principle* of the design is approved of, there will be no difficulty in suiting its cost to any appropriations that may be thought expedient.—

On a review of the design in regard to its execution (should it ever receive this honor) I would recommend that the Grand Pedestal or Base of the Monument be executed of *Granite*, except the Basso-relievos which should be Marble—Its character as well as effect will be more striking considered as the grand Zocle of a Marble or Free Stone superstructure of great elevation.—The Great Column may be of free stone embossed with Marble,—if it is thought expedient to use this stone as being the product of the native state of our illustrious Washington.—

If it were practicable I would recommend that you procure some of the *real* cannon &c. taken by Genl. Washington particularly those or part of those taken at York; for the purpose of placing among the trophies or emblems of victory displayed over the pedestal wings. An addition of this kind would speak more than volumes to the popular mind, and they would be contemplated with double interest by posterity—

I will not take up more of the attention of the Board by further remarks, but draw to a close, after expressing my thanks for your kind attentions, and my respectful salutations to the Gentlemen your Colleagues,—

I have the honor Sir
to be yours &c

Robert Gilmore Esqr
Baltimore

Robt. Mills

[Mills to Gilmor?] ⁷

Dear Sir

Thro' your indulgence I will take the liberty of adding a few general remarks to those which I had the honor of laying before the Board of Managers of the W. M. when I submitted my design. As I stated in that communication I have accomplished a drawing exhibiting the design I proposed in a perspective view which will give a better idea of its massiveness &

⁷ From the collection of Mr. Richard X. Evans.

character of outline than a geometrical view is capable of. This drawing I have this day put on board the Union line of packets by Newcastle & Frenchtown to Baltimore directed to Eli Simkins, Esq^r Baltimore, of which I would request the favor of you to give him notice. Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, several ideas of designs of the Monument have pass'd in review before my mind, but for simplicity, and every requisite which the subject or your wishes demand I felt satisfied with none in comparison to the one submitted. In this design such is its character of construction that less or more than the appropriation made can accomplish its execution and yet preserve its great features unimpaired.

The following letters were addressed to Mills the day the Board accepted his design. Robert Gilmor's friendly note indicates that Mills' teacher, Benjamin Latrobe, may have been one of his competitors, and the minutes of the Board show that Maximilian Godefroy did submit a plan. This would account for Latrobe's bitterly critical comment to Godefroy on Mills' scheme.⁸

Baltimore 2^d May 1814⁹

Sir,

At a meeting of the Managers of the Washington Monument this day, agreeably to notice, to award the premium for the best design of a monument, the one furnished by you received the approbation of the board, & we as members of the corresponding committee are directed to communicate this information, & that your dft on Mr. Eli Simkins, their Secretary for five hundreds dollars (being the amount of the premium) will be paid at sight.

Agreeably to the terms of the public notice, should you have committed to you the execution of your plan, the amount of the premium will be deducted from your Commission or contract, as the adoption of your design is presumed to be a sufficient compensation for what you have already done.

Your mo. ob. s

R. Mills, Esq.

Isaac M'Kim

Baltimore 2^d May 1814¹⁰

My dear Sir

I beg leave to congratulate you on your design having received the suffrage of the board of Managers this day of which I have just written you *officially* with my Colleague Mr. M'Kim. It is gratifying to me that a native

⁸ "Mills is a wretched designer. He came to me too late to acquire principals of taste. He is a copyist, and is fit for nothing else," and more in this strain. See Carolina V. Davison, "Maximilian Godefroy," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXIX: 209 (1934).

⁹ From the Evans collection.

¹⁰ Evans collection. Published in part in Mrs. H. M. P. Gallagher, *Robert Mills*. New York, 1935, p. 107.

American artist should have borne the palm away from foreigners whose designs certainly did them great credit. I have a strong suspicion one very handsome pyramid with a grand portico was from the pencil of Mr. Latrobe, but we do not positively know it. Your plan was very generally approved of but some doubts existed in the minds of some of the managers who live on the square where it is to be erected, and which it is most desirable you should remove, as they may carry their doubt & fears into the neighborhood. [& prevent?] the erection of it altogether. They are afraid it will be liable to being overturned by some shock, owing to its great elevation. The nature of the foundation which is sandy, the expense also is dreaded as requiring a sum far beyond what our finances can afford. I wish you to write me fully on both these heads, and if you can furnish a tolerably correct estimate of the cost of the masonry first excluding all ornament of sculpture & bronze, except on the basement or side, you will enable me to overcome some prejudices. Marble would be better than freestone for the casing of the column but we fear the expense. If you had it in your power to contract for its execution, it would be liked. Should your arrangement in Philad^a in the course of a week or two allow you to come to Baltimore, it might be not to your disadvantage.

I am very sincerely

Yours R. Gilmor Jr.

(To be continued.)

JEB STUART IN MARYLAND, JUNE, 1863 *

By GEORGE C. KEIDEL

KEYNOTE: "It was commenced in the absence of correct intelligence."—R. E. LEE, 15 April, 1868.

Soon after the opening of the Gettysburg campaign in June, 1863, Major-General J. E. B. Stuart, in supreme command of the cavalry of the Army of Northern Virginia, received orders from General Robert E. Lee to proceed into Maryland and Pennsylvania in person with three brigades of cavalry and to act as cavalry escort on the right flank of General Ewell, who was leading the Confederate advance to York and the Susquehanna River. This was the post of honor and danger nearest to the enemy represented especially by the Army of the Potomac under General Joseph Hooker, but also next to the troops of the Middle Department commanded by General Robert C. Schenck with headquarters at Baltimore and charged above all with the guarding of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. With both of these commands Jeb Stuart was soon to come into armed conflict.

Finding his way blocked in Virginia on June 25 by the Army of the Potomac, then on the march northward, Jeb Stuart made a forced march by the rear flank of the enemy, and passing through Dranesville, Va., he crossed the Potomac at Rowser's Ford a short distance south of Seneca. The crossing was made without mishap on a foggy night, June 27-28, in the face of great difficulties, and about four thousand Confederate cavalry stood on Maryland soil with a few pieces of light horse artillery, two ambulances—but no supply train.

After resting men and horses for some hours on various Montgomery County farms, the Confederates advanced to Rockville, it then being Sunday morning, June 28. About noon that day they captured a Federal army train proceeding from the outskirts of Washington towards Frederick, then the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, which had just been placed under General George G. Meade. This capture proved in the end to be a misfortune.

At Rockville the Confederate force was divided, one brigade proceeding on the left flank nearest the enemy towards Sykesville, and two brigades with the long captured baggage train and some four hundred prisoners recently picked up proceeding under Jeb Stuart himself on the right flank to Brookeville.

* Copyright 1939 by George C. Keidel.

Here during the night of June 28-29 Jeb Stuart paroled a large number of prisoners while occupying the Presbyterian manse of the village. Mounting his horse again at 1 A. M. on June 29, he headed towards Westminster—and promptly fell asleep on his steed, while the long caravan with him slowly wended its way northward. At daybreak he passed through Cooksville on the turnpike leading westward from Baltimore to Frederick, and thus passed out of the extended suburban district near Washington, which city had been alarmed by various rumors of cavalry raids.

By this time, the morning of June 29, General Meade at Frederick had been informed by telegraph from army headquarters in Washington that Confederate cavalry was roving about in Montgomery County, to which he had replied that he was too busy to bother with them; and General Schenck at Baltimore had been told that Confederate cavalry was threatening both branches of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, to which he responded by sending all available troops to the Relay House ten miles out. And then all the telegraph wires to Frederick were cut by the Confederates, and no messages could get through.

Meanwhile Jeb Stuart and his men, horses and mules were slowly advancing northward through Howard County, where they were in the Baltimore sphere of influence. Men and horses were fast becoming exhausted, and frequent stops were made to graze the horses and mules in fields along the route which were then full of hay, wheat and young corn. The men got what food they could, and eagerly took all the horses they could find while leaving their worn-out steeds behind them. The pace slowed down from forty to twenty-five miles a day!

Early on the morning of June 29 the Confederate advance on the left flank seized the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Sykesville, and a few hours later Jeb Stuart with the other two brigades and the train crossed the same railroad at Hood's Mill a few miles to the east. All railroad traffic between Baltimore and Frederick ceased for nearly twenty-four hours while the cavalry was passing. The railroad officials quickly transmitted this intelligence to Baltimore; but soon afterward the railroad was repaired and traffic to Frederick was resumed on June 30.

In the early afternoon of June 29 a Westminster physician, while visiting patients living south of that town, came upon the advance guard of the Confederates who had halted on the Washington Road and were grazing their animals in the fields nearby. The physician drove back to town and gave the alarm, which was not taken seriously

by the major (N. B. Knight) of the Federal cavalry squadron that had recently ridden up from Baltimore and was encamped on a hill north of the town itself. He had no idea of the large cavalry force that was approaching from the direction of Washington afar off. So he refused to be disturbed at the inn where he had settled himself, and merely sent word to a subordinate officer to attend to the report.

Ninety men of a Delaware cavalry regiment mounted, and as the Confederate advance reached the centre of the town and were heading towards Gettysburg charged down the hill into the enemy's flank. In the brief but spirited struggle that ensued most of the Federal cavalry were either killed or captured. The major and the remaining cavalymen under his scattered command mounted their horses and fled at top speed down the Baltimore Pike. They were followed at a little distance by a squad of Confederates on their tired horses for about six miles.

But the fleeing major and his men did not stop until they met some other Federal cavalymen at Reisterstown, about ten miles from Westminster. These fresh troops made a reconnaissance back towards Westminster; but the fleeing major himself did not stop until at nightfall he had reached the arsenal at Pikesville, some twenty miles from where he had started. His alarmist rumor stirred General Schenck at his Baltimore headquarters, the home guards were called out and manned the fortifications during the night, while stringent orders were issued to the civilian population! But no Confederates appeared within fifteen miles of the city.

When Major-General J. E. B. Stuart reached Westminster in person all was quiet. He dismounted and engaged in conversation with some school-girls, one of whom he kissed, calling her his "little prisoner," as she herself related a few years ago in her old age.

His men busied themselves with the captured government stores, as Westminster was a base of supplies. They were up almost all night feeding man and beast, who for the first time in days had a bountiful supply of food (at the enemy's expense). Meanwhile the advance guard of the Confederates pushed on to Union Mills near the Mason and Dixon Line, one of the brigade commanders, Fitzhugh Lee, sleeping in an orchard, as reported to the author in recent years.

Meanwhile the Army of the Potomac was advancing on Westminster from the direction of Frederick, and the last Confederate had scarcely left the town early on the morning of June 30, when

Gregg's Federal cavalry began pouring through the place, soon to be followed by a whole army corps. Jeb Stuart had barely been able to cross their line of march ahead of them!

On the morning of June 30 the entire Confederate cavalry force passed into Pennsylvania, and Maryland knew them no more until after the Battle of Gettysburg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. For General Lee's statement see *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. VII, 1879, pp. 445-446.
2. For definitive life of General Lee see Douglas Southall Freeman (Vol. 3 on Gettysburg campaign).
3. For biographies of Jeb Stuart see H. B. McClellan and John W. Thomason, Jr. (latter has copy of Jeb Stuart's orders).
4. For the capture of the wagon train see Silas Crouse, "A Bold Rebel Raid," *New York Times*, June 30, 1863, p. 1, cols. 3-4.
5. For the street fight in Westminster see William Shepard Crouse, "Confederate Troops in Westminster," *Baltimore Sun*, Feb. 23, 1930, sec. 2, p. 8, cols. 1-3 (with portrait of Stuart).
6. For excitement in Baltimore see *Sun*, July 1, 1863, and *American*, July 1, 1863.

LOGS AND PAPERS OF BALTIMORE PRIVATEERS, 1812-15

By WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

That Baltimore sent out more privateers during the War of 1812 than any other American port has long been an established fact.¹ The outstanding events in the careers of some of these vessels have been sketched in various places, and the mere reading of the data shows that the private armed schooners from Baltimore did their full share of damage to British shipping. It is particularly interesting, therefore, to examine more closely the journals and log-books kept on the individual cruises—papers reposing among the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. There is something stirring about the thought that these very pages were written on the high seas, and they afford intimate glimpses of life aboard the privateers such as no second-hand accounts can give.

In these documents, we see the preparations for the voyages, the gathering of the crews, and the actual departures down the Bay. We sail over the waves and experience gales and calms, and we hear the rattling of the ropes as the ships tack in chase of strange sails. We observe the captains as they discipline their men, take rich prizes, and fight enemy fleets. We follow them as they weave in and out of difficult situations, and we visit foreign ports and meet strange people. Especially do we get a wonderful picture of the broad sweep of world trade, the great variety of vessels traveling the seas with all sorts of cargoes.

The journals themselves present a mixed picture. Some were kept in log books provided for the purpose, while others were scribbled in any blank leaflets available. Some were kept with meticulous care and include an endless number of details as to winds, courses, and movements of sail, while others are jotted down hurriedly with only occasional mention of physical conditions. Some are written by men of obvious training and have distinct literary flavor, while others show equally obvious lack of education; and one is not in the handwriting of the captain at all, because he signed

¹ The actual figures were: Baltimore 58, New York 55, Salem 40, Boston 32, Philadelphia 14, Portsmouth 11, Charleston 10, etc. They are quoted in George Coggeshall's *History of American Privateers and Letters-of-Marque, during our War with England in the Years 1812, '13 and '14*, New York, 1856, p. 422. Mr. John Philips Cranwell, who has made a study of shipping in Baltimore during the period, states that there were at least 117 private armed vessels sailing from Baltimore or owned by Baltimoreans. Many, like the *Rolla* and *Decatur*, whose cruises are described below, operated out of other ports because of the blockade around the mouth of the Chesapeake.

the statement as to the accuracy of the journal with his mark. Altogether, they give an amazing cross-sectional view of privateering activity in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

1. "Log of Schooner *Wasp*, 1812," James Taylor, master, on a cruise, July 14th-November 19th 1812.

The record was kept in a blank book ruled and printed with suitable headings: *The Seaman's Journal*, published by W. Spotswood. It pays almost no attention to details of speed, wind, or course, and sets down without elaboration the events of the voyage as they occurred.

The *Wasp* sailed from Baltimore and spent two weeks boarding vessels moving along the coast. On August 5th she captured the Swedish Ship *Contenance* and, upon finding British papers, took her to Charleston for sale. She then headed for the West Indies and made two prizes, the British Schooner *Sir Eyre Coote*, ransomed, and the British Schooner *Dawson*, sent to an American port with her cargo of sugar, rum, and coffee. An unpleasant encounter with the guns of a Spanish fort at Trinidad in Cuba made repairs to the foremast necessary, after which the *Wasp* met gales of hurricane force and lost all masts, sails, and rigging. Baffling calms followed the storm and rations ran low, so the ship turned homewards, reaching Baltimore with the pumps working to offset a serious leak. The cruise was not very successful, for few prizes were taken and the *Wasp* herself returned to port much the worse for wear.

2. "Log of Schooner *Bona*, 1812," John Dameron, master, on two cruises, July 20th-September 9th, September 29th-December 20th 1812.

The *Bona* is the only privateer in this group for which the narratives of two separate voyages are preserved. The records are entered in a regular book for the purpose: *Journal of a Voyage*, published in New York in 1810 and sold by Edmund M. Blunt "At his Navigation Store, Sign of the Quadrant, No. 202, Water-Street, corner of Beekman-Slip." Great care is taken with the details, and from them it is possible to observe that the vessel averaged around five knots. The captain's handwriting is very poor, and there are many instances of bad spelling.

The *Bona* sailed from Baltimore and boarded many friendly merchantmen carrying molasses, rum, flour, etc., but did not sight a single enemy vessel. Much time was consumed in practicing the guns, trimming the ship, and working the sails as if in action.

There were slight troubles with members of the crew, and the ship returned to port after only six weeks at sea. The second cruise began with gales and rough seas, and the weather was so cold that the crew fell ill and became mutinous. A course to the south was set and the people recovered their health in the warmer climate, but still no prizes were taken. A packet surrendered twenty bags of mail which proved to contain nothing of value, and a brig suspected of being British property was found to have perfectly regular American papers. Finally, a small schooner was captured and manned for the United States, only to be recaptured enroute. The *Bona* returned to Baltimore five days before Christmas, notably unsuccessful in her efforts to harm enemy shipping.

3. "A Journal of a Cruise in the private armed Schooner *America* Commencing July 23rd 1812, By Jo. Richardson Commander—," July 23rd-November 26th 1812.

The journal of the *America* is the most interesting and the best written of all these privateer narratives. Indeed, it has a definite literary quality which shows especially in the vivid pictures of weather conditions and the almost poetical descriptions of the handling of the sails. It is entered in a regular cardboard-backed journal book, and it gives a running account free from the impedimenta surrounding the usual observations. It differs from other log books, too, in the careful daily listing of the sick members of the crew, with details of the various illnesses. Captain Richardson must have been an extraordinary man, for throughout his journal there are items which reflect an interest in science, a feeling of democratic comradeship with his men, a religious devoutness, and a keen desire to gather every possible scrap of world news.

The *America* sailed from Baltimore and spoke numerous ships off the coast, many of which had not heard of the war and received their first information concerning it from Captain Richardson. One vessel reported the Jamaica fleet far to the eastward, and this being beyond reach, the privateer, "with the consent and approbation of all my officers," turned south towards the West Indies. The English Schooner *Adela* with 200 barrels of flour was taken off St. Pierre, Martinique, and a prize crew was put aboard to conduct her to an American port. Then the English Schooner *Intrepid* was seized, and after some butter, tripe, candles, soap, salmon, and three live pigs were removed, the prisoners from the *Adela* were loaded onto her and she was sent to Haiti for sale. The *America* visited the ports of Aquin, Aux Cayes, and San Juan, and later sighted the St. Thomas fleet of 37 sail, but was chased away by the brig acting as

convoy. Gales and high seas prevented any further captures, and the crew was reduced to two-thirds of the regular allowance of provisions before the ship came to anchor off North Point at the conclusion of an unsatisfactory cruise.

In the back of the journal Captain Richardson listed the men who died (3), those who deserted (2), and those who were taken on at San Juan (6). He also made a columnar survey of the 28 vessels boarded during the cruise, giving the date, name, master, where from, where bound, home port, days out, owners' names, and cargo of each one. On the last page he put down the titles of his books, numbering 33 items in 47 volumes, and including 2 Bibles, 13 religious treatises, 2 dictionaries, 1 grammar, some works of general literature, and 5 books on navigation.

4. "Remarks on board Schooner *Rolla* James Dooley, Esqre Commander," October 31st 1812-January 25th 1813.

The cruise of the *Rolla* was one of the group under consideration which did not originate in Baltimore. She operated from Long Island Sound, and the first few pages are filled with a simple record of events while moving from port to port collecting a crew. After that, the journal becomes a regular log book, giving in columns the data as to knots, course, winds, and remarks. Captain Dooley notes with meticulous care every change of course or shift of wind, though occasionally he merely comments "variable." The *Rolla* was apparently one of the faster privateers, for she often made 12 knots; and this may account for her success in making prizes.

Newport, Fishers Island, New London, Point Judith, Bristol, Providence, and Falmouth were the places touched before the *Rolla* set out to sea, and two weeks were spent speaking to various ships encountered on the open ocean. The first prize was taken on December 5th, the British Lugger *Brisk* loaded with oranges, and after that a streak of good luck resulted in five more captures within a brief period. These included the English Schooner *Barbara*, the Ship *Mary* and the Ship *Eliza* from Bristol (England)—seized the same day, December 12th—the Brig *Barrosa*, and the Brig *Apollo* from London. By this time, so many officers and men had been put on the prizes that it was thought best to conclude the cruise. Accordingly, a landing was made at Teneriffe to leave prisoners, and then the *Rolla* headed for Baltimore. The cruise was a comparatively short one, but it was extremely profitable, the prize cargoes bringing nearly \$2,000,000, and the ship herself suffering no damage.

5. Papers of the private armed Schooner *Lawrence*, Edward Veazey, master, February-August 3rd 1814.

The papers of the *Lawrence* provide a picture of privateering from a different angle. Excerpts of the journal are included, but there is no regular log of events during the cruise. What is there is a series of original documents tracing the career of what has been called "one of the successful privateers of the war."² These consist largely of letters sent back by Captain Veazey to the Baltimore agent for the ship, reporting the captures made, together with other letters relating to the subsequent happenings in connection with those prizes. In many ways, they give a more completely rounded view than the routine records kept on the voyages.

(1) February 1814: requests from Richard H. Douglass, agent, for seven owners (James Bosley, William T. Graham, Charles Gwynn, J. Smith Hollins, Justus Hoppe, George P. Stevenson, and Joel Vickers) to pay four instalments of \$500 each for demands against the *Lawrence*; some marked paid.

(2) February 26th: copy of the commission of the *Lawrence*, no. 968; gives tonnage as 259 tons, armament as 9 carriage guns, and crew as 120 men.

(3) March 1st: certificates Nos. 68 and 80, showing that Peter Volt and Thomas Durham, seamen, were entitled to two shares each of any prizes made by the *Lawrence* if they complied with the articles of agreement; former receipted twice on back by John C. King for full proportion of prize money for brigs *Ceres* and *Pelican*.

(4) March 2nd: letter from Veazey to Douglass, saying that Mr. Leone sent bill for 3000 musket cartridges, but one box shows 355 short so there may not be over 2000 in all.

(5) March 4th: letter of attorney by officers and crew of the *Lawrence*, appointing Douglass attorney and agent for all at a commission of 3%, signed by 114 men (including Veazey), 66 with marks; on back William Sterett's oath that he was present and saw the paper signed.

(6) March 4th: letter from Veazey to Douglass, written in Chesapeake Bay and sent back by smack, reporting arrival off Potomac and saying they may go to sea the next day. "The Schooner sails beyond my most sanguine expectation. She is in good order for sea."

(7) April 16th: letter from Veazey to Douglass, sent by the Swedish Ship *Commarcen* loaded with oats and barley for the use of His Majesty's forces at Bilboa and captured by the *Lawrence*; postmarked in Portland, Maine.

(8) April 19th: letter from Veazey to Douglass, sent by the English Ship *Ontario* laden with wine, salt, and corkwood and captured by the *Lawrence*; reports men "in high Spirits and in good health."

(9) April 28th: letter from Veazey to Douglass, written at sea, sending an extract from the journal of the *Lawrence*. [Printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, III (1908), 171].

(9a) April 16th-25th: the extract mentioned above. [Printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, III (1908), 171-76].

(10) April 22nd-June 3rd: canvas-covered journal kept by Isaiah Lewis,

² Edgar S. Maclay, *A History of American Privateers*, New York, 1899, p. 430.

prize master of the Brig *Pelican* taken to France; six pages of entries covering the events of the trip in and disposition of the craft and cargo.

(11) May 18th: letter from Veazey to Douglass, describing the seven captures already made and listing their cargoes, a complete account to date.

(12) May 31st: letter from John Clark to Douglass, written from prison in Halifax, describing adventures as prize master of the Ship *Ontario* and its recapture by the British Sloop *Curlew*.

(13) June 6th: letter from Joseph Thomas to Douglass, written and postmarked in Portland, Maine, asking directions what to do with a seaman who was captured with a prize, but who helped greatly in getting the prize to port.

(14) June 29th: letter from Isaac G. Roberts to Douglass, written and postmarked in Portsmouth, N. H., reporting the results of the trials of the *Lawrence* prize cases at York; appends list of appraisals made on 8122 bushels of barley and 1988 bushels of wheat imported in the *Commarcen* and gives the names of the purchasers.

(15) Undated: statement of the affairs of the prize *Commarcen*, describing the various court proceedings.

(16) July 1st: letter from Roberts to Douglass, Portsmouth, reporting the arrival of the prize master and crew of the English Brig *Hope* which was recaptured by the English Privateer *Rolla*; mentions six captures made by the *Lawrence* and their fate.

(17) July 3rd: letter from Veazey to Douglass, written in Porto Rico, mailed in Philadelphia, describing the cruise to date and particularly an encounter with a large man-of-war.

(18) July 16th: letter from John A. Morton to Douglass, written in Bordeaux, mailed in New York, discussing the sale of the prize *Pelican* and estimating the probable proceeds at \$100,000-120,000; lists current quotations on coffee, indigo, pepper, sugar, hides, wool, and wine.

(19) July 19th: bill for \$1,375.38 from Samuel and Seward Porter of Portland, for disbursements on the prize *Ceres* and cargo, including discharging, wharfage, dockage, duties, and commission of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$.

(20) July 30th: letter from Veazey to Douglass, written from Fort Johnson, N. C., announcing the safe arrival of the *Lawrence* and sending an extract of its journal.

(20a) March 13th-July 24th: the extract mentioned above, a running account of the entire cruise.

(21) July 30th: letter from James Cunningham, prize master of the Brig *Hope* when it was recaptured, to Douglass, written from New York, asking for a further advance of money because travelling is so expensive and he has lost all his clothes.

(22) August 3rd: certificate, dated at Wilmington, N. C., showing that Thomas Durham served on board the *Lawrence* as a seaman and was entitled to two shares of all captures made during the first cruise.

(23) August 3rd: the same kind of certificate for James Clarke, attached to a paper appointing Jacob Levy of Wilmington agent to receive Clarke's shares, and followed in turn by Levy's designation of John C. King of Baltimore to act as Clarke's attorney.

(24) February-July: account of postage paid on 31 letters concerning the *Lawrence*, showing senders and amounts totalling \$15.60½.

(25) February 21st 1815: letter from Samuel Ralston to Douglass, written in Washington, N. C., reporting the arrival at Currituck of a large brig, prize to the *Lawrence* on her second cruise.

(26) May 1st: letter from James Hill to Douglass, written from Dartmoor Prison and mailed in Boston, informing Douglass that for £10 he has bought Thomas McLean's share of prize money.

(27) September 28th 1816: statement of Benjamin S. Davis selling to James Hooper for \$60 his interest in the *Lawrence's* prize money.

6. Papers of the letter of marque Schooner *Decatur*, George Montgomery, master, 1814.

The papers of the *Decatur* are not at all complete, and there is nothing in the way of a journal of the cruise, but the few scattered items do give an idea of some phases of the enterprise. Apparently the *Decatur* sailed from New York, and she certainly sent one prize to North Carolina; the conclusion of the voyage is unrecorded here. Emphasis is laid on the disposition of one of the captured ships rather than on the events as they occurred.

(1) June 26th 1814: list of agents to whom the *Decatur* was to consign her prizes, sent by Douglass to Montgomery.

(2) July 1st: power of attorney making Douglass agent for the captain and the crew, signed by 31 men, 9 with marks; also signed agreement that two-thirds of profits belong to owners, the remainder to be divided with the captain receiving 16 shares, first lieutenant 9, second lieutenant 7, boatswain 3, carpenter 3, gunner 3, cook 2, steward 2, boy 1, and seamen each 2, with 8 shares reserved for the most deserving of the crew according to the captain's judgment; on back statement by John S. Bogert of New York that these papers were made and executed in his office.

(3) August 31st: letter from Montgomery to Douglas, reporting the capture of the British Brig *William* from Senegal laden with gum.

(4) August 31st: letter from Samuel Dorsey (not in list of crew) to William Douglass, telling of the capture of the *William*.

(5) November 18th: list or roll of the *Decatur's* crew, certified by Gerardus Clark of New York, "the said Crew having been enrolled at my Office."

(5a) December 1st: copy of the above list or roll, certified by John Gill of Baltimore.

(6) March 13th 1815: letter from Stephen Pleasanton to William Douglass, written in Washington, asking for power of attorney and certificate of ownership of the *Decatur*.

(7) May 22nd: statement of distribution of proceeds from the *William*; total \$7,778.53, of which the owners took \$5,185.69, the remaining \$2,592.84 distributed as agreed with the shares for the worthy man awarded to William Williams.

(8) November 6th: letter from William Dunn to Messrs. R. and W. Douglass, written in Newbern, N. C., concerning one Bear's claims against the *Decatur*; on back gives current quotations on tar, turpentine, corn, and cotton, adding that "every Description of our produce is high."

7. "Private Armed Schr Kemp of Baltimore Joseph Almeda Esqre Commander from Wilmington NC on a Cruise," November 29th 1814-March 30th 1815.

The journal of the *Kemp* devotes an entire page to each day of the cruise except for a summary of the time spent making repairs between December 25th and January 15th. The hours, knots, courses, and winds are all recorded, and the latitude is carefully noted at the end of every day. The handwriting is evidently not that of the captain, for the sworn statement of the accuracy of the account is signed with his mark.

The *Kemp* sailed from Wilmington, N. C., and almost immediately came up with a fleet of seven sail. Four were captured on December 3rd after a brief engagement, and the *Kemp* returned to port to land prisoners. One of the prizes, the Ship *Rosella*, worth \$180,000, grounded on the way in and was lost, but the three others arrived safely.³ Six weeks were spent cruising along the coast and making repairs, and then the Leeward Islands became the center of much profitable activity. The English Packet *Lady Mary Pelham*, a fine new brig, was captured on February 9th after forty minutes' warm action. February 20th saw the taking of two more vessels: the British Schooners *Yankee Lass* (formerly an American privateer) and *Resolution*, both laden with sugar, molasses, and rum. The English Sloop *Mudian Lass* was the next victim, and the Ship *Ottawa*, bound from Liverpool to Jamaica with dry goods, proved to be a valuable prize. A stop was made at Santo Domingo, and the *Kemp* sailed leisurely past Cuba and up the coast to Baltimore. Her cruise was extremely successful and it doubtless gave bountiful returns to all concerned.

8. "Journal of Private Armed Brig Chasseur. Thos Boyle. Com. from New York on a Cruise," December 23rd 1814-March 17th 1815.

[Printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, I (1906), 168-80, 218-40.]

The *Chasseur* was the most famous of the Baltimore privateers. She was generally regarded as one of the best equipped and manned

³ Niles' *Weekly Register* (Baltimore) for January 7th 1815, VII, 293, gave an account of these captures with extracts from the journal of the *Kemp*. It concluded, "N.B. The prizes are large and valuable, loaded with coffee chiefly."

privateers in the war, and a Baltimore newspaper spoke of her as "perhaps, the most beautiful vessel that ever floated on the ocean." Her master, Captain Boyle, had established an enviable reputation in his previous command, the *Comet*, and he proceeded to set a real record in this new ship. She returned from her European cruise in October, 1814, and just two months later started off again to try her luck in West Indian waters. The journal of this voyage is set down in a canvas-backed blank book, and there are many details of the courses, the winds, and the handling of the sails. One particularly noticeable feature is the destruction of many of the ships taken—a practice not often followed by the privateers included in this survey.

The *Chasseur* sailed from New York and went all the way to Barbados before beginning her activities. The Schooner *Elizabeth* was captured and burned while several vessels were chasing the *Chasseur* off Bridgetown. Then the Sloops *Eclipse* and *Mary of Bequia* were pursued and sunk near St. Vincents. Several British men of war gave chase in the neighborhood of St. Lucia, and on one occasion it was necessary for the *Chasseur* to heave overboard some of her armament and spare spars in order to draw away. The merchant Ship *Corunna*, bound from London to Granada with coal and articles of hardware, was caught and sent to the United States with a prize crew. The London convoy of 110 sail was sighted on February 3rd, but the frigate protecting the fleet chased the Baltimorean twice until she lost sight entirely. The Ship *Adventure*, bound from London to Havana with iron work, was the next capture sent to an American port, while the Jamaica Ketch *Martin* was burned after her provisions had been removed. The *Mary and Susanna* was taken and put in charge of a prize crew, and then on February 27th took place the heroic battle with H. M. S. *St. Lawrence*, which has been described and pictured in many places.⁴ Soon thereafter a passing ship brought news that peace had been signed, so the *Chasseur* made all sail for the Chesapeake and Baltimore after a truly remarkable cruise.

9. "Journal of the Xebec *Ultor* on her Second Cruse from New York James Mathews Comd.," . . . January 20th-April 4th 1815. . . .

The record of the *Ultor's* cruise is written on paper ruled by pencil, and the entire first and last portions are missing. There are occasional gaps in the entries, as from February 5th-10th and March 5th-11th; probably there was nothing worth putting down for those

⁴ The encounter with the *St. Lawrence* is discussed in detail in Maclay, pp. 295-300, and in Theodore Roosevelt's *The Naval War of 1812*, New York, 1901, pp. 415-16.

days. The *Ultor* differed from the other privateers in that it resembled the long, low, lateen-rigged vessels used by the Mediterranean corsairs.

The *Ultor* operated almost entirely in the Leeward Islands, and it was near Montserrat and Antigua that she captured and burned the British Birgs *John* and *Maria Annabella*. The English Sloop *Constitution* met the same fate off Guadeloupe, and then the *Ultor* proceeded to Santo Domingo waters. The Ship *Ann* of Liverpool with a cargo of mahogany was seized three or four miles from shore and ordered to the United States, and the Brig *Mohawk* was taken in the Bay of Neyva and ransomed for three thousand Spanish milled dollars. Spanish, Swedish, Hamburg, Peruvian, and Carthaginian craft were among those chased and boarded before an American merchantman told her commander of the proclamation of peace, and the *Ultor* headed north for Baltimore.

The Johns Hopkins University.

SOME UNPUBLISHED HAWLEY-HALLEY DATA

By H. T. CORY

At least five Hawleys played important rôles in the development of the Maryland and Virginia colonies prior to 1650 and some revisions of heretofore accepted data concerning some of them are necessary in the light of facts which have recently come to the writer's hands.

One James Hawley lived in Boston near Brentford, County Middlesex, England, from 1558 to his death in September, 1622. His ancestral line is given in *The Hawley Record*¹ as John 1; William 2; and John 3 of Auler, County Somerset, the latter being the first of the family to settle in that country. He married Dorothy, sister of William Walnot of Shopwick. His second son, Jeremy 4, of Boston near Brentwood, County Middlesex, who died in 1593, had as his wife Rynburgh, daughter of Valentine Saunders, of Sutton Court, County Middlesex, Rynburgh dying in February, 1575. They had several children, one being James 5.

This James 5 was born at Boston 1558 and died there September 1622. His first wife was Susanna, daughter of Richard Tothill of Amersham. She died in 1610. His second wife was Elizabeth Burnell and she died in 1621. By his first wife, he had five sons and three daughters and by his second wife, three sons. At least five of these children came to America.

Probably the oldest son was Jeremy, more usually called Jerome, who was born in 1580. His first wife was a Miss Hawkins by whom he had at least three children: Robert, Gabriel, and Judith. His second wife was Elinor de Courtney, widow of Thomas and mother of Sir William De Courtney,² who long survived him and by whom he apparently had no issue. He evidently was a dashing courtier, lived extravagantly, gambled for high stakes, especially later in life, and was a gentleman in waiting at the Court of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France and who in May, 1625, married Charles I of England. Many things indicate that there was a close friendship between him and George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and probably also with George's brother, Leonard. He took an eighth interest in Calvert's Maryland project and was one of the three commissioners assisting Leonard Calvert in the "Ark" and

¹ Elias S. Hawley, *The Hawley Record*. Buffalo, N. Y., E. H. Hutchinson & Co., 1890, p. ix f.

² *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. X, p. 444.

"Dove" expedition and first settlement of Maryland in 1633-4; the other two commissioners being Thomas Cornwallis and John Lewger. On January 10, 1636/7, possibly on George Calvert's recommendation, Jerome was appointed by Charles I as treasurer of Virginia, which post he held until his death about July, 1638.

The second of James's sons was Henry who was for many years governor of Barbadoes, dying there June 8, 1679, as did his wife Jane, May 11, 1678. Apparently he also visited Virginia and Maryland.

The third of James's sons was Capt. William who acted as deputy governor of Barbadoes for several months while his brother Henry was away on a leave of absence. He was in Virginia as early as 1644 and was deputy governor of the Carolinas in 1645. For him was surveyed St. Jerome's Manor of 2100 acres in St. Mary's County, Maryland, January 15, 1648. He signed the Protestant Declaration there in 1650 and died in 1654. His will disappeared shortly after his death and its provisions are yet unknown.

The fourth of James's sons was James who is said to have died without posterity in England in 1667. It is generally understood he never came to America but he supplied much financial backing to his brother Jerome's Maryland venture. Whether because of Jerome's high living or events in the Maryland Colony, James probably was never fully repaid his advances or investments as on July 30, 1649, he wrote his brother William, hereinabove mentioned, a letter dated Brentford, Middlesex County, in which he stated that Jerome's estate owed him, James, substantial sums. He asked William to do all possible to collect from Thomas Cornwallis large amounts which James felt had been withheld from Jerome's estate.³

The fifth son of James, by his second wife, Valentine, went to the Barbadoes. A daughter, Susanna, also by James's second wife, who married Sir Richard Pier, also went to the Barbadoes. Lastly, another son, but by James's first wife, Gabriel, possibly came to America also. The uncertainty is due to there having been two contemporary Gabriel Hawleys in the immediate clan under consideration.

Sherwood⁴ gives the following:

In the Records of the Draper's Company, London . . . 1616, January 22.

HAWLEY, Gabriel, son of James of Brainford (Brentford), Middlesex, "generosus," apprenticed to

³ E. D. Neill, *The Founders of Maryland*, Albany, N. Y., Munsell, 1876, pp. 82-5.

⁴ George F. T. Sherwood, *American Colonists in English Records*, London, 1933, 1st Series, p. 23 and 2d Series, p. 103.

PAVIER, William, for 9 years.

Free of the Company 6 July, 1636. On 11 July, 1636, takes apprentice

BOROUGHES, John. Note in 1636/42 Book: "in Virginia."

In the Public Record Office, London. Delegates Examination. vol. 2. Baltimore v. Leonards.

A. D.

1635 HAWLEY, Gabriel, of London, Gent., aged 34, has lived there 5 years; before that in Virginia 10 months; and before that in London 5 years or more. (signs)

BALTIMORE, Lord, his house at the Upper end of Holborn; his brother and partner

LEONARDS, Leonard, loaded into "The Ark" sailing to Maryland in Sept. 1633, divers tonnes of beer to the use of Lord BALTIMORE. There were three or four joined as partners in the said ship and her pinnace "The Dove."

HALLY, Mr. Jerome, a partner in "The Ark," had an eighth part.

HALLEY, Gabriel, did bespeak and provide beer and victuals for the ship.

CALVERT, Captain Leonard, partner in the pinnace.

CORNWALLYS, Mr. Thomas, ditto.

SANDES or SAUNDERS, Mr. John, ditto.

BOULTER, John, citizen & skinner of London, of St. Batolph, Aldgate, aged 40; has lived there 3 years, and before that for 12 years in the East Indies. Was purser and steward of the ship for the said voyage under the Lord BALTIMORE." (signs)

Incidentally note the three spellings of Hawley-Hally-Halley in the last quotation.

These two records in connection with the fact that Gabriel Hawley was surveyor general of Virginia until that post was filled, probably on the death of the incumbent, by Robert Evelyn in 1637, clearly show there were two Gabriel Hawleys contemporaneously playing parts in the Virginia-Maryland colonial ventures.

One of these, a son of James Hawley and his first wife Susannah Tothill (Tuttle?) was in London as an apprentice of William Pavier for nine years prior to July 6, 1636. He probably was born about 1609. Another, born in 1601, spent ten months in Virginia from 1629 to 1630, and had a significant part in the *Ark* and *Dove* expedition. Doubtless it was the latter who for some time prior to and until 1637 was surveyor general of Virginia.

The writer has just ascertained the identity of this second Gabriel from Mrs. J. Stanford Halley of Corsicana, Texas, who for years has been compiling genealogical data of the Halleys in America. About 1915 Mrs. Halley learned from Mr. J. M. Halley of Mc-

Gregor, Texas, of a Halley record in the possession of a Mr. Samuel Halley then living in a suburb of Macon, Georgia. Accordingly she had Rev. J. G. Moreton, a retired Baptist minister and indefatigable worker in genealogical matters, visit Macon to copy the said records.

Mr. Samuel Halley, then 77 years old, absolutely refused the suggestion of Mr. Moreton that the record should be placed in some historical collection for preservation in a fire-proof building. However, permission was gladly given to copy it in full. This Mr. Moreton did, and most fortunately, as a year later Mr. Samuel Halley's house burned and with it the record, while a year later the old gentleman died.

Mrs. J. Stanford Halley, like many other genealogists, has not yet completed for publication her record of the Halleys in America, and just now is deeply occupied with civic work. So she has loaned me for preparation of this paper, the report made to her in 1916 by the Rev. J. G. Moreton of the aforesaid record.

I quote it in full:

Item 1— . . . Thms Halley . . . Ludburgh . . . 15 . . . to . . .

(NOTE—I thought this to be a birth record or marriage. The date appeared to be 1530 or 1538 or 1550. The first numerals were fairly distinct.)

Item 2—Jeromie Hawley . . . life ye 17th (or 19th) day . . . 16 . . .

(Evidently a death record. Note that one date was 1500, the other 1600. The writing is the same so evidently copied for a purpose, probably to be used in the book. "departed this" I think were the absent words.)

Item 3—Wm and Thms Hawley declaired of . . . protesting faiths . . . and signers . . . thereof . . . ye . . . 16 . . .

(Please note the different spellings of the name.)

Item 4—Thms Haley and clerk Francis Walford Staffordshire with . . . cousin Sara Hawley with . . . to the number of twenty souls . . . with familys and indentured servants . . . in province of Maryland . . . Enterprise . . .

(NOTE—The word after Sara Hawley looks more like "wife" than "with." This appears that Thomas was transporting colonists. There is no date, but the name of the boat or ship, might help you. Note the spelling of the cousins' names.)

Item 5—J . . . Haley to E. Bunche (or Burch)

(NOTE—No date to this record. It seems rather abrupt.)

Item 6—Thomas Halley to Elizabeth Burch (or Bunche?) wid w/2 1728 (or 23) with . . . children

(NOTE—Underneath this is the name of John Hally and another not distinct enough to read. The writing is different—it seems to be a marriage record but could have been a transfer of property. If the latter, it seems odd that it was on record in this book.)

There were a number of other names without dates. I do not know why they were recorded. The writing was indistinct but we satisfied ourselves that they were correct. It is not unreasonable to suppose that some were births or deaths copied from memory, from a prayer book or Bible. At the end of the book is a notation that the "Holy Evangels" was "consumed in the flames." It does not record when or where. The names are 1 & 2 Jerry and Omy, twins, 3. James Hawley, 4. Jeromy Hally, 5. Gabriel Hally, 6. Clemmie Hally, 7. Jerimy Halley (Jeremy is spelled with an "i" this time), 8. Daniel Holly, 9. John S. Hally, 10. Henry L (or S) Hally, 11. William Hally, 12. William Hally, 13. Edward Hally. (NOTE—Please note that the spelling seemed to take the form Hally and keep it until the last record which follows, then the *E* is inserted. In regard to the above, I believe that after the burning of the Bible some member of the family tried to write the records from memory. The dates were forgotten but the names remembered. This book seemed to take the place of the records, because the last pages contain the complete record of later families whose Bible are extant. You have those last records. I shall not send them at this time. They include Nathaniel, Dr. Samuel's and Henry S. Halley and Elizabeth, and names of the slaves and births of each.)

Item 7—John Halley to Elizabeth Price wid'r with two children Jan. 31, (?) 177— England.

(NOTE—I tried to get the place in England—even used a hot iron on it to bring out the ink more clearly but no lettering appeared before the word "England." The date should be 1770. If this is a marriage record, we may presume that other like records are marriage records.)

Item 1 is evidently the record of the marriage of Jeremy Thomas Hawley to Rudburgh or Rynburgh Saunders about 1550, the grandparents of the brothers and sisters hereinbefore mentioned who came to America. Item 6 is plainly the genealogical line of descent for twelve generations.

The point of general historical as distinct from family interest is that the Jerome Hawley, partner of Lord Baltimore in the Maryland Province project, including the *Ark* and the *Dove* had a son Gabriel and grandson Clement.

Evidently this son Gabriel was the second Gabriel mentioned in the English records quoted, the other being the son of James and Susannah Tothill and brother of Commissioner Jerome Hawley. Also, incidentally, it may be noted that Clement Haly who died at Chaptico, St. Mary's Co. in 1695 was Jerome's grandson.

Finally, we conclude that the Gabriel Hawley who was surveyor general of Virginia for some time prior to 1637 was the son and not the brother of Jerome Hawley, the treasurer of Virginia from January 1637 to his death July, 1638, and probably that this son's death antedated that of the father.

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER

(Continued from *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXXIII, 4, p. 388.)

Sir

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Betsey Captain Love seven Tons of Barr Iron Please to make Insurance for me on Her from Wye to the Port of London that in Case of Loss I may Draw one Hundred Pounds Clear of all Charges

I am Sir Y^r most H^{ble} Serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland }
July 19th 1764 }

⌘ Capt^t John Johnston sent wth Mr Dick's Letters

⌘ Capt Goundell in the munificence Sent ⌘ I Gentleman at
Doctor Steuarts

Sir

Inclosed I send Cert^t of the seven Tons of Bar on Board of Love Being Plantation Made

I am Sir Y^r mo H^{ble} Serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis July 19 1764
To Mr William Anderson
Merch^t in London

Gent

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Albion Captain Spencer now in Chester River Ten Tons of Pig and Eight Tons of Barr Iron I Desire you will make Insurance for me on the said Vessel while in the said River and thence to your Port of Bristol that in Case of Loss I may Draw one Hundred and Seventy pounds Clear of all Charges

I am Gentlemen your most H^{ble} Serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Septem^r }
11th 1764 }

To Mess^{rs} Sedgeley Hillhouse
and Company merchants in Bristol
⌘ Mr Zachariah Hood in Hanck }
⌘ Captain Lane }
Copy Given Mr Rob^t Lloyd to send
Copy ⌘ Cock

Dear Sir

Yours of the 30th March Last I Received and all the Goods sent by Love Safe and Good The Tea Indeed Peggy Does not think the best for the Price Please by the first of your Ships Convenient to send me the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice I send you Inclosed the first of our Province Bills for £966.. 0.. 9 with which as I suppose it must be Good Please to Credit my Account I have but Just time to Close my Letter by Johnson by some of the next Ships I shall send you a Further Invoice and write more fully Pray our Kind Compliments to all yours

I am Dear Sir Y^r M^o h^{ble} Serv^t

C. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland }
 October 2^d 1764 }
 To M^r William Anderson }
 Merchant in London }
 ₤ Capt. Johnston

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to M^r William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the 2^d of October 1764

- 58 yards of Substantial Silk and worsted Crimson Damask for window Curtains for a Dining Room @ about 8/ ₤ yard and one hundred and Sixty Eight yards of Proper Binding of same Colour
- 29 yards of Green worsted Damask for Curtains for a Common Parlour.
- 84 yards of Proper Binding of the same Colour.
- 2 Neat Mahogany Chest of Drawers.
- 6 Carpet Bottom Mahogany framed Chairs about 15/ ₤ for Bed Chamber
- 6 Strong Ditto about Ditto Black Leather Bottoms for a Parlour. And two Arm Chairs of the same Sort.
- A Large Easy Arm Chair well Stuffed in the seat Back and Sides Covered with Common Stuff Damask and a Cushion
- A pair of End Irons Brass Knobbed with a fire shovel and Tongs and pair of Bellows for a Bed Chamber made Strong.
- 2 pieces 24 yards in Each of Cotton for a Bed & Curtains of a white Ground and Lively Colours
- one Silver Bread server or waiter to suit a small Company about 8 or 10 Persons fashionable Light and Handy I have seen them in the fashion of Fruit Baskets or Sea Shells
- one Black Shagreen Case with a Dozen Silver Handled Table Knives and Forks and one Dozen Spoons
- one Ditto Case with a Dozen Silver Handled Desert Knives and Forks and a Dozen Desert or Custard spoons.
- one Plain Silver three Pint Chocolate Pot.
- one Cream Pot of middle size I suppose the Fashion to be Chased.
- one small Silver waiter about 10 ounces.

my Crest or the same Coat as was Cut for Peggys Seal to be put on the Plate or if the Coat be Lost put mine
 Sir William Temples works 4 vol^s Octavo
 Lord Shaftsbury's works in four vol^s Containing his Letters.
 Lord Molesworth's History of Denmark
 And Bishop Robinson's Account of Sweden
 Polnity's Memoirs.

Keatings History of Ireland or the best Irish History Published
 About 20/ of the Best Political & other pamphlets yearly Especially those that Relate to the Colonies

- 4 pair of Crimson Silk and worsted Damask window Curtains for 4 Large windows two Curtains to a window Each Curtain two Breadths wide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards and three Inches in Length.
- 2 pair of Ditto Curtains for two End windows of the same Length with only a Breadth and Half in Each all Lined with thin Durants or Lammy of same Colour as may be necessary as our suns may spoil them.
- 2 pair of Green worsted Damask window Curtains for two Large Parlour windows Each Curtain two Breadths wide and two yards and a Half and three Inches Long.
- one Single Ditto Curtain two Breadths wide and same Length with former for an End window these Green worsted I think need not be Laced all the Curtains to be Properly bound Round with Binding of same Colour and to be Quilled at Top

These Articles wrote for instead of the Stuff and materials for window Curtains Mentioned in the beginning of this Invoice

Gent

I had an Account Delivered to me this year by Mr Simm Dated November the first 1763 very Different from that sent me in by you Last year Dated Augst 10th 1763 in which the Ballance Due you was only one Hundred and Sixty five Pounds Seven Shillings and two pence But by this Delivered by Mr Simm you make by Charging Interest the Ballance to be two hundred and Seventeen pounds three shillings and Eight pence The Charge of Interest I Look upon not to be just as I had always Pigg and Barr Iron Ready to Ship you to make Remittance as I Promised and made offers Both to Mr Franklin and Captain Bell but your Ships would not take it in And I Cant Help besides Reminding you How much I was a Loser by your Keeping my Iron so Long by you and selling it at Last for a Lower Price than it would have Brought the year you Received it. I have besides no Credit for the five Tons of Pigg and five Tons of Barr Shipped you Last year in Your Ship the Unity Captain Wats. After you have given me Credit By the Proceeds of that Iron and struck out the Interest Charged in Your Account of the 1st of

November and altered it agreeable to that of the 10th of August 1763 which I hope you will think Just I will Remit you Effects to Discharge what Ballance may Remain Due to you if you will give me Room in any of your Ships or I will Immediately Do the same by Bills of Exchange and shall with Pleasure send you Effects and Carry on a Correspondence when Ever opportunity offers

I am Gentlemen your mo^{hble} Serv^t

C. Carroll

Annapolis October 2^d 1764

To Anthony Bacon Esq^r
and Company mercht^s
in London

£ Capt. Cock }
£ Capt. Curling }

An Additional Invoice of Goods sent inclosed in a Letter to M^r William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the 4th October 1764

- 4
)(
x|x
- | | | |
|---|-------|---|
| 7lb Green Tea | @ 14/ | £ |
| 2lb Hyson Ditto | @ 18/ | £ |
| 7 Loaves of Double refined Sugar | | |
| 7 Ditto of Single | Ditto | |
| Mace 4 ounces | | |
| Cinamon 6 ounces | | |
| Nutmegs 4 ounces | | |
| Cloves 4 ounces | | |
| one womans Hunting Saddle of the Large Easy Sort of Green Cloth with
a Strong but narrow Gold Binding or Trimming on the Cover and
proper Furniture w th Bridle Suitable | | |
| 2 Wicker Baskets Lined with Tin one open Down the Sides for Carry-
ing Clean Plates the other Close for fowl and one for Knives | | |
| 12 Packs of Playing Cards | | |
| 3 Dozen Bottles of Fresh Pyrmont water in Quart Bottles or what they
Call Half Bottles. | | |
| 3 Dozen fresh German Spaw water | | |
| 1lb best Jesuit Bark Powdered and Close Packed. | | |
| 2 Gallons Best Lamp Spirit for Tea Kettle in pint Bottles well Stopped. | | |
| 1 Dozen best shaving wash Balls not much perfumed. | | |
| Silk and Cotton Binding for the two pieces Cotton wrote for, for Bed
and Curtains. | | |
| one Plain Green Silk waistcoat for myself of Corded Green Silk not made
too Short. Eccleston has my Measure. | | |
| Set of Table China as follows viz. | | |
| 2 Large enamald China Dishes | | |
| 4 Ditto a Size Less | | |
| 2 Ditto the next Size | | |
| 4 Ditto of the Least. | | |

- 1 Middling Sized Soup Dish
- 3 Dozen enamald Plates to suit the Dishes
- 2 Dozen Soup Ditto
- 2 Sallad Dishes
- 2 Bowls or Pudding Dishes
- 6 Saucers or shells for Pickles
- 1 Dozen Nankeen Bread and Butter or Breakfast Plates
- 1 Dozen very fine Damask Napkins
- 2 $\frac{7}{4}$ Damask Table Cloths
- 6 $\frac{8}{4}$ Diaper Table Cloths
- 6 $\frac{6}{4}$ Ditto Ditto
- 1 piece of Course White Dowlass
- 1 folio family Bible Red or blue Cover Strong Paper Gilt
- 2 Prayer Books Blue Covers Gilt in octavo
- 1 piece of Brocade with white ground and Lively Colours that will Cost about 15/ £ yard made up in a negligee and Coat or any other Garment is more fashionable
- 1 piece of point Lace Lappits
a Silk and Gold Flounce to Trim the Coat and Side of a French Robe
- $3\frac{3}{8}$ yards broad Silk and Gold nett Lace
- 10 yards of narrow Ditto
- 1 piece 8 or 10 yards fine Cotton Stamp'd with Lively Colours
- 1 piece fine Lawn
- 2 Gause Caps. 8 yards of Rich flowered Gause
- 6 pair womens best Kid Gloves. 6 pair Ditto mitts
- 4 pair Ditto fine India Cotton Hose
- 2 pair Ditto thread Ditto
- 3m best midling pins and 3m short white Ditto.
- 3m Lilykin Ditto

Dear Sir

Inclosed I send you the Third of our Province Bills for Nine Hundred and Sixty six pounds and nine pence with a copy of my Invoice sent by Johnston and an additional one to that for my own use.

We think it Better to have the Crimson Silk and worsted Damask and the Green worsted Damask window Curtains made up with you so have in this Article altered from the first Invoice sent and wrote for the Curtains instead of the Stuff and materials By the advice of our Physicians I must Call in the Assistance of the Pymont and German Spaw waters to subdue my Inveterate Enemy the fever and ague So I have this year wrote for some, they must be Quite fresh and Genuine and as little adulterated as Possible with the spirite of Sulphur or vetriol which they put in to make them Clear and Smart or they will not do for me. I shall take it as a favour if you will give this in Charge to the Person from whom you get them, if there should be a Fresh and Good Im-

portation of them at times and Convenient opportunity should offer I shall be Glad if at times you will send me two or three Dozen I suppose I shall use about Eight or Ten Dozen a year, I write for the Pymont in Half Bottles for if it Comes in two Quart Bottles if not Drank out Quick it will grow Dead. I shall be obliged if you^l Direct your Book seller (I hope he is a man of Taste) to send me in yearly about 15 or 20 Shillings of the Best Political and other Pamphlets Especially any that Relate to the Interest and Circumstances of the Colonies or the monthly Reviews but none of Religious Controversy it is some Amusement to Learn from your authors and their works of wit how things Pass with you he may forward them as opportunity offers The womans Saddle I write for must have a Housing to it must be made Strong as our Servants here are Careless I in Close a letter from Peggy to her Cousin I most Sincerely wish you all well and am

Dear Sir your most humble Servant

C. Carroll

Annapolis October 4th 1764

P. S. I shall not want any Valens to the Curtains wrote for

To Mr William Anderson }
Merchant in London }

⌘ Captain Cock }
⌘ Cap^t Curling }

Sir

I wrote you of the 13th of May Last to send me a Lady's Velvet Large Cloak or Cardinal of a Fashionable Colour and Lined with Shag or fur as it was for winter wear, if you have not already sent it Please to send it with my Goods ordered this year

Add Likewise to them four Pounds Best fig Blue Send also the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice for my Proportion of Goods for the Baltimore Company.

I am Sir your M^hle Serv^t

C. Carroll

Annapolis October 5th 1764

To Mr William Anderson }
Merchant in London }

⌘ Captain Cock

Sir

Please when you send the Goods I wrote for this year Both for my own use and those I wrote for for my Proportion for the Baltimore Company to make Insurance on them So that in Case of Loss I may Draw the Principal and all Charges if Ever I should write for any Parcels of Goods above twenty or thirty Pounds and should forget the ordering Insurance on them be pleased to make it in the above form

I am Sir your most H^{ble} Serv^t

C Carroll

Annapolis Maryland }
 October 6th 1764 }

To Mr William Anderson
 Merchant in London

£ Captain Cock

£ Capt. Curling

B
 X

Invoice of Goods for the Baltimore Works sent inclosed in a Letter to Mr W^m Anderson Merch^t in London Dated October 5th 1764

700 Ells best osnabrigs

2 pieces Irish Linen @ 12^d

2 pieces Ditto @ 16^d

2 pieces Ditto @ 18^d

1 piece Ditto @ 20^d

1 piece Ditto @ 2/

1 piece Ditto @ 2/6^d

3 pieces Check

3 piece Roles

1 piece Brown holland

2 pieces Stript duffel

3 pieces white Kersey

1 piece Welsh Cotton

1/2 Dozen yarn Rugs

7 piece blue German Serge @ 5/

Shalloon and Twist for Ditto

6 Dozen Camp blue Coat and } Buttons

12 Dozen Ditto Ditto vest }

6 pieces Shalloon different Colours

20 m 10^d

15 m 20^d } and 20 m 8^d nails

1 Dozen Large Smiths files

1 Dozen X Cut Saw files

1 Dozen Whip Saw Ditto

1 Dozen Hand Saw Ditto

1 Dozen Augers sorted

1 Dozen Sail needles

- 1 Gross Curby fish hooks
- 1 Dozen frying Pans
- 1/2 Doz. Carpenters 2 foot Rules
- 2 Doz. mens shoes
- 1 Doz. womens Ditto
- 2 Reams uncut writing Paper
- 2 Reams Cut Ditto
- 1 Doz. Ink Powder
- 2 Dozen Quart white Stone Muggs
- 2 Doz. pint D^o
- 1 Doz. 1/2 pint D^o
- 1 Doz. Stone Pitchers
- 3 Doz. Narrow Mouth Stone Jugs sorted
- 6, 2 Quart Delf Bowls
- 6, 3 pint Ditto
- 1 Doz. Shallow delf Plates
- 1 Doz. Soup Ditto
- 4 Doz. Butter Pots (sorted)
- 1 Doz. Shoe Brushes
- 1 Doz. horn Combs
- 2 Doz. Ivory Ditto
- 2 Doz. bed Cords
- 3 Doz. hair Sieves
- 2 faggots English } Steel
- 2t Blistered }
- 6 Large Bull Hides oiled but not Curried }
fit for Furnace Bellows }
- 30 mens fernaught Pea Jackets
- 2 pieces Drugget
- 12 Doz. vest and 6 Dozen Coat
Buttons with Twist for Ditto
- 5 yards fine broad Cloth } Different Colours }
- 5 yards Ditto @ 12/ }
- with Shalloon and other Trimmings Suitable }

This Invoice about £160-0-0—

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter To Mess^r Sedgley
Hilhouse and Company Merchants at Bristol marked $\frac{4}{x}(\frac{4}{x})$ and Dated
the 6th October 1764—

- 7 pieces Best osnabrigs
- 1 piece Best Sprig Linen
- 6 pieces Brown Rolls or Craws
- 2 pieces Dowlas
- 1 piece Irish Shirting Linen yard wide @ 5/ Ⓕ
- 2 pieces yard wide Cotton Chex
- 1 piece of Birds Eyed Hankerchiefs or other Linen or Cotton @ abot 8^d Ⓕ
- 1 piece Sheeting Linen @ about 3/6^d Ⓕ yard
- 1 piece D^o D^o about 2/6^d Ⓕ yard

- 1 piece Cloth Coloured Kersey and Suitable Trimings for Ditto
- 1 piece Grey Fearnought
- 1 piece Coloured Ditto
- 2 pieces Blue Half thick
- 500 yards best Welsh Cotton
- 1 piece Match Coat Blanketting
- 2 Doz. Torrington Ruggs about 3/6^d ⌘
- 4 Broad axes
- 2 Hand Saws 6 whip saw files
- 6 X Cut Saw 6 Hand saw Ditto
- 6 Large strong frying Pans Good Long Handles
- 20 m 10^d nails and 10 m 20^d Ditto
- 4 pair of wool Cards
- 6 Good Comon Stock Locks
- 6 Strong best Padlocks
- 6 Ditto Cheaper Sort
- 2 Faggots English Steel
- 1 Bundle Blistered Ditto
- 6 Curry Combs and 6 Brushes
- 1 Doz. Mens Coarse Felt Hats
- 1 Doz. Ditto Finer
- 1/4 C^w of Double E F. F. Gun powder
- 50 lb of Drop } Shot }
- 40 of Bristol }
- 10 Goose }
- 25 lb Brim Stone
- 6 Mop Heads
- 6 Scrubbing Brush Heads
- 6 Broom Ditto
- 6 Hair Seives
- 2 Doz. mens Double worsted Caps
- 1 Doz. womens blue yarn Hose
- 2 Best Flanders Bed Ticks Bolsters and Pillows
- 150 Grey Flag Stones for Paving Passages I think they are 18 Inches square
and Come in at 3/ ⌘ yard they must be thick and strong as they are
for an outside Piazza—
- 2 Dozen Scythe Stones
- 2 Doz. Large Stone Butter Pots
- 4 Doz. strong Gallon Pewter Basons
- 15 lb Pounds fresh Lucerne seed well and Dry }
Packed and not Turned into the Hold or any Damp Place }

Gent

I find I am so unfortunate as to fail in Every attempt to Carry on that Correspondence with you I would Incline. I this year offered your Captain Hanson Both barr and Pig for your Patapsco vessell But was Refused. Therefore now send you one of our Province Bills of Exchange for thirty two Pounds and six pence Sterling which will Discharge the Ballance Due you for the Lions Sent me Except one Shilling and Ten pence for which must be your Debtor till an

opportunity offers of Paying it we are in Dayly Expectation of Seeing Mr Buchanan who I hope will shew more Inclination to take me as a Correspondent than your Captains of this be assured that I will with Pleasure when Ever you or they Please Consign you any Effects I Deal in I am

Gent your most H^{ble} Serv^t

Annapolis Maryland }
October 6th 1764 }

C. Carroll

To Mr William Perkins }
and C^o Merch^{ts} in London }

⌘ Captain Cock }

⌘ Curling }

Gent^t

I have this year Shipped to you in Captain Spencer 10 Tons of Pig and 8 Tons of Bar Iron to make Trial How those Commodities Turn out at your Post Inclosed I send you Bill Lading for the same and Certificate that they are Plantation made—I hope by the Price they bear with you to be Encouraged to Continue the Correspondence—

I send you also an Invoice of some Goods to be sent by the very first of your Ships Coming in as they are for my own family use they must be the best in their Kinds the four Dozen Gallon Pewter Basons mentioned in the Invoice are for a Dairy if there are any Particularly made for that use Let them be of that Sort. The Flag Stones must be such as will bear the weather Mr Nicholas Maccubbin Had some Come in from you @ 3/ ⌘ yard of a blueish Grey that he Tells me stand the Rains and frost Pretty well without Peeling. I have seen others of a whiter Kind that Look Harder send me which you Judge best of about the Price. I shall be obliged if your Captain Has Room if he will take the seed wrote for into his Cabbin as it is apt to be spoiled by any Damp it may Receive. Please to make Insurance on the Goods when sent me so that in Case of Loss I may Draw the Principal and all Charges—I hope for your Care in the above and

Am Gentlemen Y^r M^o h^{ble} Serv^t

C. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland October }
6th 1764 }

To Mess^{rs} Sedgley Hilhouse and } October 13th 1764 Give to Mr
Randolph Merch^t in Bristol } Tho^s Ringgold to put on board
p^r Curling } the Albion Capt. Tho. Spencer

(To be continued.)

A NOTE ON THE MINUTES OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES,
FEBRUARY 10—MARCH 13, 1777

By ELIZABETH W. MEADE

The rough "Minutes of the House of Delegates," covering the period between February 10, 1777 and March 13, 1777, have come to light recently among the miscellaneous papers of the Chancery Court at the Hall of Records. The minutes are recorded in a notebook, 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ by 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches, which contains 48 unnumbered pages. When the book was found, the outer cover was gone, pages at the beginning and end seemed to be missing, and the remaining pages were badly damaged along the lower margin. Since its recovery the document has been repaired and restored as far as possible to its original condition.

It is apparent that these notes were taken, in a kind of shorthand, during the sessions of the Legislature, to be expanded later into the complete journals of the House of Delegates. The Hall of Records has a series, though a very incomplete one, of these notebooks. Until this little book was discovered, there was a gap in the series from February 7, 1777 to March 15, 1777. These rough notes and the "Journal of the House of Delegates, 1777-1778" are almost identical in arrangement, wording and content, so far as it is possible to check the one against the other. The minutes do not include any material which was presented to the Legislature in written form, such as the text of bills, proclamations, and letters, though the place for their insertion is indicated. All the notebooks for 1777 are in the same handwriting but, without more evidence, it is impossible to say whether Gabriel Duvall, the clerk of the House of Delegates, took his own notes or left that duty to an assistant.

It will be remembered that the establishment of the State government in Maryland took place in the early months of 1777. The assumption of statehood represented the final step in the gradual process of severing the legal ties between Great Britain and her colony. The first convention of those in Maryland who opposed British regulations met on June 22, 1774. From that date until 1777, the supreme governmental authority was vested in a convention composed of the representatives from each county in Maryland. Because of its unwieldy numbers the convention functioned through a council of safety of sixteen to seven members, which was, in fact, the executive branch of the larger body. The Council of Safety began its sessions on August 21, 1775 with full authority to carry on the

struggle against Great Britain except in a case of great emergency, at which time the whole Convention might be assembled. This arrangement was continued till March 22, 1777, the day after the inauguration of Thomas Johnson as Governor of the State of Maryland. On that date the Council of Safety was abolished.

The first constitution of the State of Maryland was drawn up by a special convention which sat from August 14 to November 11 of the year 1776. According to Scharf's *History of Maryland* (Vol. II, 284-85, 287), the senatorial electors were chosen on November 25, 1776, the election of the members of the House of Delegates took place on December 18, 1776 and the first General Assembly met on February 5, 1777 by order of the Council of Safety. One of the earliest acts of the Assembly was the election of Thomas Johnson as Governor on February 13; the following day they completed the organization of the State government by choosing an executive council of five members to assist the governor.

This brief recital of the familiar details in the history of the State indicates the importance of the period between February 10, 1777 and March 13, 1777, the period which is covered by the newly discovered "Minutes of the House of Delegates." Though the governor and council were chosen during this period, the Council of Safety continued to exercise its extensive executive powers. During the course of the transition from Convention to State government, the separation of the executive from the legislative branch was not preserved, since several members of the Council of Safety were also senators ("Journal of the House of Delegates, Feb. 7, 1777"). This mixture of legislative and executive authority which prevailed between August, 1775 and March, 1777, doubtless facilitated the prosecution of the war. At any rate, the General Assembly in its first session gave the governor and council the powers formerly exercised by the Council of Safety, except the right of banishment (*Laws of Maryland*, 1777, Chap. XXIV). This Act, after enumerating the various functions of the Council of Safety concluded with the words: "and do everything, in their own discretion, for defending and strengthening the province." These extensive powers of the Governor and Council were renewed by the General Assembly during each session until November, 1781. The "Minutes of the House of Delegates" which form the occasion for this note, deal with a critical period in the history of the State as well as of the Nation. The note book is of value in corroborating the "Journal of the House of Delegates" in the early months of the year 1777.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Artist of the Revolution; The Early Life of Charles Willson Peale. By CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS. Hebron, Conn.: Feather and Good. xvi, 293 pp. \$7.50.

In this highly worth while volume we find the first accurate account of the early career of Maryland's most versatile genius; in fact, Charles Willson Peale's very versatility has heretofore interfered with the credit due him in the profession which with him was a vocation, at times, and apparently an avocation at others.

The reviewer is not capable of passing upon matters of comparative merit in art; yet he would note that despite certain long-current misconceptions, critical judges have of late become increasingly aware of Peale's ability, especially in the way of accuracy in likeness and charm of presentation. It has also been realized that earlier detractions, based in part on the fact that Peale did not always "stick to his last," were unfair to the work actually accomplished.

In preserving the likenesses of the founders of the Republic this country owes more to Peale during the critical period of its beginnings than to all other artists combined. Certainly no American artist labored under such handicaps in starting his career and in pursuing it in the midst of war and its aftermath of economic depression. Nevertheless, during these formative years of the Republic, Peale has the distinction of founding the first American national portrait gallery and the first academy of art. Allied with these, he established the first scientifically arranged American museum of natural history. Since these institutions were located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania claims him, as well as Maryland, his native commonwealth.

In terms of the hunt, the biography gets off to a slow start, since it has, for the general reader, overmuch genealogical matter. Thereafter, however, the interest quickens, and the reviewer would merely anticipate the pleasure of the reader by referring to a few of the fresh sidelights thrown upon American life during the last half of the eighteenth century.

If there be any artist of any age who passed through similar interruptions unwillingly to engage in war and politics, he is unknown to the reviewer. In him the individualism of the American was illustrated and intensified, and almost literally Peale went to war with his brush in one hand and a musket—with gadgets of his own invention thereon—in the other. As captain of his Philadelphia Company, his experiences, over and above his between-engagements in portrait painting, are assuredly unique. To illustrate, he secured hides with which he made shoes for his men; he would scout for them, and even provide food and see that it was properly cooked! Although he hated war and shrank from its brutality, he did not shirk his duties or dodge its dangers. Again, he was instrumental in securing the passage of the first anti-slavery legislation; and yet, from necessity, he was himself a slave-owner. He hated rough and tumble politics, yet he was perforce the chosen leader of the "Furious Whig" faction of the Revolutionary party, and he later became a legal agent for the despoliation of the Tories, as he, at no little personal risk, sought to ameliorate the severity of his orders.

Mr. Sellers has given us the biography of an artist; but historians will find

here exemplified nearly every phase of American life before, during, and after the Revolution. The volume is no mere eulogium, but a dispassionate narrative-exposition of unusual interest. Several anecdotes throw light upon matters of general information.

Elsewhere, for instance, it has been recorded that at the outset of the Revolution the British complained of the habit American riflemen had of *firing directly at officers*. According to them, this just wasn't cricket! Nevertheless, it was the American way, gained from Indian fighting where the individual enemy counted and where the werowance or sachem furnished a target of greater importance than that of any of his warriors. Modernizing the orthography, Peale writes to a friend at London (*italics inserted*):

One of their captains who went to relieve guard was shot at by three of our riflemen at 250 yards distance and tumbled from his horse. *This is a practice that General Washington now discountenances.*

The final sentence engagingly illustrates the fact that while Washington had been an Indian fighter, he had also been an officer in the colonial British service, at which time, like a true Britisher, he called England "home" and Virginia "the country."

It is an exceptional biographer who does not make rather frequent slips when, in the course of his production, he deals with matters related to contemporary figures and events. Mr. Sellers is exceptional; however, when he refers to a "serious indiscretion" by Charles Willson Peale or by Thomas Paine, or both, in accusing Silas Deane of dubious transactions, it may be stated that had Peale been acquainted with Professor Abernethy's recent revelations, Peale would have known that Benjamin Franklin was then being duped by Silas Deane, who was far more guilty than either Peale or Paine imagined.

In view of the earlier belittlement of Peale as craftsman, it is interesting to learn that it was he who was asked to paint a new full-length of Washington to be sent to France, after which Houdon modeled his famous statue now in the Capitol at Richmond. More recently, it may be added, George V preferred a Peale portrait in selecting a British memorial of Washington.

In view of the recent "discovery" that James Rumsey invented, and first patented, in 1788 the water-tube boiler, it is interesting to note that at Annapolis Peale went to see Rumsey's steam engine, to view which "the public had been invited by the town crier." Doubtless Peale was doubly intrigued by reason of his friendship with his fellow-inventor, Benjamin Franklin, who helped to send Rumsey abroad.

Because of modern developments, it may be said that the most astonishing of Peale's inventions was the ingenious mechanism he devised to show the first American moving pictures through the use of "transparencies." In addition, he provided sound effects, to say nothing of showing his 'movies' during the summer months in a hall that was more or less 'air-conditioned' through an original arrangement of fans.

It is said that no reviewer considers himself happy, virtuous, or erudite if he does not find some fault with the work under discussion! This critic, therefore, points to possible peccability by asking why recent biographers feel that, when the subject of the biography is innocent of wrong-doing, it is necessary or desirable to look over the list of ancestors or other relatives with a view to finding and exposing some family scandal! Dr. Freeman went to

great lengths to do this in the case of "Light Horse Harry," the father of Robert E. Lee; and Mr. Sellers evidently felt it incumbent upon him to pursue the same policy with respect to Charles Peale, the artist's father, yet the reviewer, long accustomed to weighing historical evidence, would offset the record with the following apparently pertinent observations which may give to the elder Peale the "benefit of the doubt." Although pronounced guilty of peculation in England, he received the extreme sentence that the law allowed, while his political superiors were let off later with light sentences for more serious offenses. These superiors may well have used their influence to make Charles Peale the vicarious victim of schemes that they had concocted, thereby explaining why Peale was released and enabled to start life anew in America.

The format and execution of the volume are excellent; and besides the frontispiece there are twenty-four illustrations, a considerable proportion of them being finely reproduced portraits of Marylanders.

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS.

Writings of General John Forbes Relating to His Service in North America.

Compiled and edited by ALFRED PROCTER JAMES, Ph. D., for the Allegheny County Committee of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America. Menasha, Wisconsin: Collegiate Press, 1938. xv, 316 pp. \$3.50.

This collection of letters throws new and interesting light on the capture of Fort Duquesne, later known as Pittsburgh. Those familiar with the history of the conflict between the English and French for the possession of North America will recall how important the control of the Ohio valley was in determining the result of this struggle. To the French the Ohio valley was an essential link between their colonies in Canada and Louisiana. If, on the other hand, the English could control this valley, it meant that instead of being hemmed in on the west by the French they had room for expansion in that direction. The first two years of the French and Indian War (1754-1760), as the fourth and decisive intercolonial war was known, brought only disaster to the English. It was during this time that the expedition sent to capture Fort Duquesne under command of General Edward Braddock met defeat. When, however, William Pitt became Secretary of State the campaign in America was pushed with renewed energy. Louisburg surrendered in July 1758 and soon afterwards Fort Frontenac. Brigadier General John Forbes directed the second campaign having as its objective the capture of Fort Duquesne.

In one of the letters in this collection Forbes discusses his plan of campaign. In this letter which is written from Philadelphia on June 17th, 1758, and addressed to William Pitt, the general said that as—

My offensive operations are clogged with many difficulties, owing to the great distance and badness of the roads, through an almost impenetrable wood. . . . I am therefore laid under the necessity of having a stockaded camp, with a blockhouse and cover for our provisions, at every forty miles distance. By which means, although I advance but gradually, yet I shall go more surely by lessening the number, and immoderate long train of provisions, wagons, etc., for I can set out with a fortnight's

provisions from my first deposit, in order to make my second, which being finished in a few days, and another fortnight's provision, brought up from the first, to the second, I directly advance to make my third, and so proceed forward, by which I shall have a constant supply security for my provisions, by moving them forward from deposits, to deposit, as I advance. . . .

In this plan lay the secret of Forbes' success. He did not, as General Braddock had done, attempt to advance his whole army at one stretch to Fort Duquesne burdened with a long and cumbersome baggage train. As a result, when he was within striking distance of the fort, he was able to advance upon it without being impeded by wagons and pack horses.

Although wise in his selection of his plan of campaign, General Forbes encountered many difficulties when he attempted to put this plan into execution. The colonial governments did not contribute the funds which he thought necessary to finance the expedition. Forbes complained when the Maryland assembly adjourned without providing anything "for the present service, or for the pay and maintenance of their troops. . . ." In a letter to William Pitt he said that the assembly's action "in refusing all aid, and assistance, for their own protection . . . strikes all honest men with a horrible idea of their ingratitude to the best of Kings."

Forbes' advance was delayed by the difficulty he had in securing wagons and pack horses to carry his ordnance and provisions. He bitterly lamented what he called "the villainy and rascality of the inhabitants, who to a man seem rather bent upon our ruin, and destruction, than give the smallest assistance, which if at last extorted is so infamously charged as shows the disposition of the people in its full glare." Excessive rains also impeded his progress.

For the provincial troops serving under him, General Forbes had little regard. He advised one of his officers in dealing with "such a parcel of scoundrels . . . to drop a little of the gentleman and treat them as they deserve, and pardon no remissness in duty, as few or any serve from any principles but low sordid ones." It is encouraging to note, however, that in a subsequent letter to William Pitt the general commended "the spirit of some of the provincials, particularly the Maryland troops. . . ." As for the provincial officers Forbes stated in one letter that with the exception of their principal officers all the rest were "an extreme bad collection of broken innkeepers, horse jockeys, and Indian traders. . . ."

General Forbes failed in his plan to keep the friendship of the Cherokee Indians, who, he wrote, could not "be kept with us neither by promises nor presents." Most of them deserted and went home. Better success, however, attended his efforts to gain the friendship of the Indians living in the vicinity of Fort Duquesne. By winning their friendship the general deprived the French of the aid and assistance of these savages at a critical time.

During the entire campaign Forbes was a very sick man. Indeed his ill health was the greatest handicap with which he had to contend. He was constantly bothered with what he called "the cursed . . . or damned bloody flux . . . and most excruciating pains in my bowels." He was obliged, he writes, "to travel in a hurdle carried betwixt two horses." Not long after he had succeeded in capturing Fort Duquesne the general died of dysentery.

It would be difficult to overemphasize the importance of the capture of Fort Duquesne, as it not only opened the west to the English, but also relieved the western borders of the constant danger of Indian raids. Because of the information about this expedition contained in the *Writings of General John*

Forbes, historians will be grateful to Dr. James for compiling and editing this collection of letters, and to the Allegheny County Committee, of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, under whose auspices the work was done.

RAPHAEL SEMMES.

Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies. By JULIA CHERRY SPRUILL. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938. viii, 426 pp. \$5.

In a sinful world nothing is perfect. Certainly the women who lived and worked in the Southern colonies were not. But Julia Cherry Spruill's *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* comes so close to perfection that it is exceedingly hard to say wherein it sins. It is a gorgeous book, and Mrs. Spruill is to be congratulated, not only on a good job, but on the corking good time she had in doing it.

Women's Life and Work is a book for historians. The author says that what started as a study of changing Southern attitudes toward women finished as "the life and status of women in the English colonies of the South." The head of the history department at the Johns Hopkins used to say that he had never seen a dissertation that came out at exactly the point for which, in the beginning, it had started. This book rests almost entirely on original sources, though there is evidence that all the valuable secondary works were read in the course of its preparation. Some of the material, from Virginia and North Carolina, was used in manuscript, but the major part was printed. For Maryland there were used the *Archives*, and the *Laws*, Bacon's and Kilty's and Maxcy's compilations; the *Gazettes*, both Parks's and Green's; the Maryland Historical Society's "Fund Publications" and the *Magazine*. Footnotes verify the author's references; these do more, for they definitely stir up and then satisfy further curiosity. The index is adequate: for an index there can no higher praise be given.

Historical apparatus aside, the book is good reading. Such a subject could have been treated to make a dull book, but here is a juicy one. Even the chapter headings show a nice feeling for lively human values. The first chapter is "Women wanted"; then come "From hut to mansion," "In the increasing way"—which could have been called "In the straw"—"Conjugal felicity and domestic discord," and so on down to the last, "Under the law." Not too much attention is paid to the rich and well-born. Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Laurens daughters from South Carolina, the Brents and the Carroll daughters figure, as they must, but so do the tavern-keepers and the midwives and the serving women. Much that is set forth herein is not only unfamiliar but even surprising. George Washington tells his mother, almost in so many words, that she is not welcome to live at Mount Vernon; and she borrows from her neighbors and tells them—what is not true—that her children refuse to support her.

Much used to be made, a quarter century ago, of the fact, for fact it was, that in Maryland a father, dying, could will away from his wife the guardianship of his children, even of those not yet born when he died. For that, Mrs. Spruill points out that there was an explanation, and not the usual one of a man's cruelty to the mother of his children. Back in colonial days, when a

woman married, whatever she had belonged to her husband. Experience shows that widows often, indeed usually, remarried—as did widowers—and when they did so, everything they had, even the clothes on their backs, belonged to the husband. Katherine Hebden, a “doctress,” married Thomas who was a carpenter. And husband Thomas not only collected Katherine’s earnings, but, dying, left her only a life interest in what had been her own property. If then, a widow’s second husband were so disposed, he could take all the property really belonging to the children of her earlier marriage, and she could do not a thing about it. Any other guardian could sue the wicked step-father and force an accounting; the mother, since she was the villain’s wife, could not.

Marylanders reading this book will find many women and many things they know, and many more that are strange to them. Margaret and Mary Brent, Dinah Nuthead and Mary Katherine Goddard, Molly Tilghman, Verlinda Stone and the Dulany women appear, as they must in any study like this. Here too is Susanna Starr, who, according to an advertisement, had run away from home four times, so her husband said. Who would know what a tate-maker did, were not the same Annapolitan also a hair-dresser? From the Eastern Shore comes the unfamiliar story of Sarah Vanhart, the eleven-year-old heiress who was married, without her guardian’s consent, to a man much older than she was, and very much her inferior. When the guardian learned of it, he got possession of the child, and the court sustained him and did not force her to be surrendered to her husband. The free school in Queen Anne’s County, one of the earliest in the province, had some scholars for whom it was genuinely free, in the modern American sense. They were Foundation Scholars, and one of them was Lily Ann Heath, daughter of Ann Heath. This must have been a co-educational school, but most of those whose stories have come down to us, were girls’ schools, most distinctly. A school in Annapolis taught reading and writing for thirty shillings a year, but charged forty shillings to teach “all sorts of embroidery, Turkey Work, and all Sorts of rich Stitches learnt in Sampler Work.”

More than is commonly understood, colonial women took part in business and in public affairs. Mary Doughtie Vanderdonck was only one of a good number. She practiced regularly as a physician in Charles County, Maryland, and she was not reluctant to carry her debtor into court. The Archives speak of other Maryland women who were doctors, and most of them seem to have had more trouble in collecting their pay than the men did.

Women’s Life and Work in the Southern Colonies is eminently readable. It can even be dipped into and separate chapters read. The present work stops at the Declaration of Independence: very much it is to be hoped that some day Mrs. Spruill will go on from there to some more recent date. It would be worth doing: fifteen or twenty years after the Declaration, a Maryland gentleman, consoling a friend for the loss of a baby, says that, after all the death of an infant is hardly a real loss.

ELIZABETH MERRITT.

John McDonogh, His Life and Work. By WILLIAM TALBOTT CHILDS. Baltimore: [Meyer & Thalheimer], 1939. 255 pp. \$2.

John McDonogh is the example of a man who won immortality through his beneficences to public education. In Baltimore, where he was born, a

school for boys that bears his name has become one of the city's distinguished institutions. In New Orleans, where he lived and made his fortune, there are several McDonogh Schools, survivals of a day when the education of the poor had not yet become the responsibility of the state and which owe their existence to the shrewd Scotch merchant's endowments.

As a young man who early acquired great wealth McDonogh, according to his biographer, lived extravagantly and mingled with the most fashionable society. An unhappy love affair transformed him into a recluse, living on a farm with his slaves as his only friends and regarded generally as an eccentric miser. Upon his death in 1850 the community was astonished to learn that he had bequeathed his fortune to education. Mr. Childs' life reveals McDonogh also as an active member of the Colonization Society, whose aim was to return negro slaves to Liberia. McDonogh himself sent a number of his own slaves back, having devised an ingenious system by which they labored extra hours to purchase their freedom. Mr. Childs, a former headmaster of McDonogh School in Baltimore, has collected in his volume much interesting information on a man who should be better known.

FRANCIS F. BEIRNE.

Redmond C. Stewart, Fox-Hunter and Gentleman of Maryland. By GORDON GRAND. New York: Scribner's, 1938. xiv, 198 pp. \$5.

This graphic portrayal of a typical Marylander of the Past, Present, and it is hoped, the Future, from the practiced pen of Gordon Grand, gives a picture of a Maryland Gentleman, and Sportsman, at his very best.

Redmond Conyngham Stewart was in every sense of the word all that is implied in the title of this noteworthy book; "one whom to know was to love—to name was to praise."

Of Scotch Irish descent, his forebears settled first in Philadelphia, his great grandfather, David Stewart, becoming one of Maryland's foremost citizens, serving not only in the State Senate, but afterwards in that of the United States.

His father, Charles Morton Stewart, was a prominent merchant, the Stewart fleet of Baltimore Clippers being pioneers in the coffee trade with Brazil. He was also interested in the cause of good government, especially Civil Service Reform, and at the time of his death was President of the Board of Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University. He was a member, as was the son also for some years, of the Maryland Historical Society, as well as a patron of art, and possessed a small but well chosen collection of paintings, bronzes and bric-a-brac, which were shown to advantage in a specially constructed gallery at Cliffholme, his country place in the Green Spring Valley.

Here Redmond grew up in the midst of a large family of brothers and sisters, and after a boarding school experience in Switzerland, he returned to Baltimore, graduated from the Johns Hopkins University, and afterwards from the University of Maryland Law School.

On his mother's side, he was descended from Gustav W. Lürman, whose beautiful gardens at Farmlands, near Catonsville, were said to have been laid off by Downing, the famous landscape architect, while Mrs. Lürman was the daughter of John Donnell, a prominent Baltimore merchant, whose

ancestry traced back to Leopold, Earl of Mercia, husband of the noted Lady Godiva and founder of the monastery at Coventry, who died in 1027.

Space does not permit an account of Redmond Stewart's exploits with horse and hound, both in this country and abroad, but he was regarded as an authority on the sport of fox-hunting, and as Master of the Green Spring Valley Hunt for twenty-five years, he was instrumental in placing these hounds in the very forefront of American packs.

He served with distinction in the Great War, and was decorated with the Distinguished Service Medal for "exceptionally meritorious acts as Major Judge Advocate, U. S. A." He passed away in February, 1936, and of him truly it could be said "he was a very parfit, gentle, knight, without fear and without reproach."

D. STERETT GITTINGS.

The Lutheran Church of Frederick, Maryland, 1738-1938. By ABDEL ROSS WENTZ. Harrisburg: Evangelical Press, 1938. 375 pp. \$3.

In both accuracy and in readability this account of one of Maryland's old and influential religious institutions is far above the average church history. The narrative, gathered from complete and continuous records for all but the first eight years of the church's existence, is replete with details of a frontier congregation's struggles to establish a church; with the earnest and trying efforts of early missionaries whose paths ranged from Pennsylvania to the Carolinas; with the wiles and the hypocracies of that early American personality often parasitic to all faiths, the "ministerial pretender"; with the final triumph over all difficulties and the consequent growth to one of the most important Lutheran churches in America—ten years older than any Lutheran Synod in the nation.

The average Lutheran churchman will, of course, find interest in the personalities of the long line of ministers and in the development of the church's many organizations and activities. The idea of a Sunday School dates back to 1812, although not formally organized as we know it today until eight years later. Training for the Lutheran ministry by the seminary method received its American initiation in this Frederick church and resulted in the establishment of Gettysburg Theological Seminary in 1826 where, incidentally, Dr. Wentz, the author, is now professor of Church History. The Frederick church, too, aided in launching various church journals printed in English. Its ministers were constant contributors to the *Lutheran Observer*.

The casual student will be well rewarded by frequent sidelights into the life of the times which could not escape reflection in the development of the church. Interesting also is the manner in which the church's history followed the line of the nation's development, best illustrated, perhaps, in the struggle to "democratize" the services, if one may use such a term, and the slow but sure swing to the English language as the medium of expression rather than German. The difficulties of a divided congregation during the trying period of the Civil War are reflected in scattered but pungent paragraphs.

Replete with references to individuals active in the building up of the church, and supplemented by several old church rolls, families with Western

Maryland roots will find this fruitful in yielding interesting details of family history.

It is to be regretted that even by indirect mention, the Barbara Fritchie myth is kept alive, and there are other slight inaccuracies in general historical background. However, in a book of this type, such errors are negligible as its prime purpose is an account of church history. This rôle it fills admirably.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE.

From Mill Wheel to Plowshare. By JULIA ANGELINE DRAKE and JAMES RIDGELY ORNDORFF. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1938. xii, 271 pp. \$3.

In this interesting and instructive volume the reader is given an account of the migrations of certain descendants of one Christian Orndorff who is said to have come from Prussia to America before 1750, settling in or near Philadelphia for a brief period and removing thence to that part of Lancaster County which is now Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. The son of this aged pioneer, also named Christian, likewise became interested in the purchase of mill sites in Pennsylvania, but in 1762 the younger man took up his residence in western Maryland, purchasing a plantation in Frederick County, to which he gave the name of "Mt. Pleasant." He took an active part in the American Revolution, was a member of the Committee of Safety and a captain in the Maryland Line, serving until the close of the war. In 1794 he was appointed a major in an expedition against the Indians on the western frontier. He died at Sharpsburg, Md., in 1797 in the 72nd year of his age, leaving eleven children, all of whom married.

The authors of this book trace the migrations of some of the descendants of Christian Orndorff, from Maryland to Kentucky, Tennessee and the vast prairies of central Illinois. It is a fascinating story of Colonial adventure. Many interesting items relating to the family are found in the appendix of 35 pages. This is followed by an alphabetical list of allied families, a section devoted to notes on the text, and an adequate index of names and places. The book is not a family genealogy in the usual sense of the term. A later volume is promised, which will present the names and dates of all known members of the Orndorff family.

FRANCIS B. CULVER.

Extracts from the correspondence of Christopher Hughes of Baltimore, *chargé d'affaires* in European capitals from 1817 to 1845 and first American "career diplomat," have appeared in several numbers of the *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1934, March 28, 1936, Dec. 10, 1938, and Feb. 18, 1939). Dr. Jesse S. Reeves of the University of Michigan faculty is the author of the articles which have been based on the extensive collection of Hughes papers in his possession. Letters from Lafayette, Coke of Norfolk, George Canning, John Quincy Adams and other notables of the day are included. In the Gallery of the Society hangs a portrait of Hughes by Sir Martin A. Shee, a bequest from the subject who died in 1849.

Side-lights on the Baltimore of 1796 with special emphasis on the theatre may be gleaned the book, *An Unconscious Autobiography: William Osborn Payne's Diary and Letters, 1796 to 1804* edited by Thatcher T. P. Luquer, privately printed 1938 in New York, 103 pages, \$3.50. The older brother of John Howard Payne, who also was identified with Baltimore for a time, William O. Payne entered the employ of the Baltimore merchant, William Taylor, with whom he remained several years.

OTHER RECENT BOOKS OF MARYLAND INTEREST

History of Maryland Classis of the Reformed Church in the United States.
 . . . By Rev. GUY P. BREADY [Taneytown, Md.: Author, 1938].
 320 pp. \$2.

The Unlocked Book; A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth. By His Sister, ASIA BOOTH CLARKE. With a Foreword by Eleanor Farjeon. New York: Putnam, 1938. 205 pp. \$2.75.

Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams. Edited by W. STULL HOLT. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. 314 pp. \$3.50. (J. H. U. Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series 56, No. 4.)

Daniel Willard Rides the Line. By EDWARD HUNGERFORD. New York: Putnam, 1938. 301 pp. \$4.

Life and Letters of Fielding H. Garrison. By SOLOMON R. KAGAN, M. D. With an introduction by Professor James J. Walsh. Boston: Medico-Historical Press, 1938. xvi, 287 pp. \$3.

The Life Story of Rev. Francis Makemie. By Rev. I. MARSHALL PAGE. Grand Rapids Mich.: Eerdmans, 1938. 258 pp. \$2.50.

The Story of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting from 1672 to 1938. Compiled by ANNA BRAITHWAITE THOMAS. Baltimore: Weant Press, 1938. 142, xiii pp.

A Brief History of a Bank [By RAYMOND TOMPKINS]. Baltimore: Western National Bank, 1938. 68 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Summer Hours: From June 1 to September 15, inclusive, the buildings of the Society will be open as follows:

Monday to Friday, 9 a. m. to 4 p. m.

Saturday, 9 a. m. to 1 p. m.

Riggs Genealogy: Inquiries and correspondence with interested persons regarding the forthcoming book, *The Genealogy of the Riggs and Allied Families*, subscription price \$10, are invited by the author,

John Beverley Riggs,
 Brookeville, Md.

Can any one give me the names of the children of John and Elizabeth Enloes? John was taxed, 1699, Baltimore County, Md. His widow, Elizabeth, married John Leakins.

Mrs. Lee I. Dunn,
608 So. St. Andrews St., Los Angeles, Calif.

Wanted: Early history and name of parents of Josiah Lewis, born about 1730, died 1808 in Bladen County, N. C. Married _____ Mullington, daughter of Richard Mullington, about 1750. Family tradition says family lived in eastern Maryland, early.

Kyle W. Hill,
Glenwood, Iowa.

Dowden: Ancestry wanted of Clementius Dowden, born January 11, 1762, in Prince George's County, Md. (Revolutionary War soldier).

Elizabeth T. LeMaster (Mrs. Vernon L.),
309 Whitman St., Rockford, Ill.

Wright: Information wanted of birthplace and early residence of Peter Wright, Nicholite Quaker, born 1791, son of John Wright of Northwest Fork Meeting, from any of the descendants of his brothers and sisters: Willis married Hannah Wilson; Mary married Isaac Wright; John married Mary Mansur. Peter Wright married Mary Anderson and went to Philadelphia in 1817.

Where was the birthplace of Mary Anderson, daughter of James Anderson of Kent County, Delaware?

Ernest N. Wright,
619 Drexel Place, Pasadena, Calif.

Pollock: Can any one give me more information about the "John Pollock, Gentleman," who is mentioned in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series I, vol. 3, page 603, and in *Maryland Archives*, Vol. XLVIII, page 414, and in Vol. XXXI, pages 323, 332, 333? In depositions given in 1759 in Worcester County, Md., he is mentioned as "aged 50 years or thereabouts"; he "had lived at the plantation he now lives at upwards of 30 years and held his rights under Lord Baltimore." Other depositions were given at the same time and place by Charles and Ephraim Polke. Who were the children of this John Pollock and what was his wife's name?

Was the John Pollock who kept a store on "Little Creek Hundred" in Delaware and the John Pollock who kept a store in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1806, a son of the above John Pollock? The Pollock of Lewisburg married an Isabella Rollin (or Rowland) in Chester County, Pa. He was also related to the James Polk of White Deer. Their families were

"cousins." James of White Deer was descended from John Pollock, born in 1688 in Ireland. Did James have a brother William?

Rowland: Who was the William Rowland mentioned in Maryland Archives, Vol. XLVIII, p. 414, May 16, 1783: "To William Rowland for 110 pounds 1 s., 2p. and to John Pollock for 28 pounds, 19 s., 10p. due them on Continental Loan Office Certificates adjusted by the auditor—."

Did the above William have a daughter, Isabella, or son John? Who was the John Rowland who was a circuit rider minister and such an eloquent preacher that his enemies called him "Hell Fire Rowland."?

Mrs. F. A. DeBoos,
715 Monroe Blvd., Dearborn, Mich.

John Dennis, born 1770; died in Baltimore, 1818; married in 1796 in Cecil County, Md., Ann Thomas, born 1775. Both were buried in Old St. Paul's Burial Ground, Baltimore.

Thomas Leech, died in Baltimore, 1821; married in Cecil County, Md., 1805, Ruth Thomas, born 1783. About 1810 Thomas Leech lived at Columbia, Lancaster County, Pa.

Information desired as to parentage of John Dennis and Thomas Leech and their wives: Ann Thomas and Ruth Thomas, who were sisters. Ann and Ruth Thomas had brothers Isaac, Jacob, and Abram, and sisters Naomi, married John Slater; Opha, married Basil Murphy; Mary married ———— Holden.

Mrs. Clara Morrison,
2808 39th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Who was the father of John Gist (wife Mary ————)? His will was made May 7, 1778, and filed in Loudoun Co., Va. Names of children: Thomas, John, William, Nathaniel, Sarah, Henson Lewis, Constant, Elizabeth Nancy (Keen), Mary (Keen), Violet (Lewis). Family tradition claims John Gist as son of Captain Christopher Gist, the explorer.

Mrs. M. G. Neale,
723 Fulton St., S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.

Wanted: The ancestry of David Evans, of Greenwich, Cumberland County, N. J. Believed to be of Welsh descent. He married Mary Sheppard, the sister of Moses Sheppard (founder of the Sheppard Asylum), in New Jersey in 1775. He died at Radnor, Pa., in 1817. Their son, Isaac Evans, married Caroline C. Onion in Baltimore on June 14, 1809. Isaac Evans may have been a Quaker, as was his mother. Will any one with information concerning this family kindly communicate with Maurice F. Rodgers, 505 Orkney Road, Baltimore, Md.?

Meeks-Shawhan: Sarah Meeks, died 1736, Kent County Md., married March 11, 1707, St. Paul's Parish, Kent County, Darby Shawhan, 1673-1736. Had: Daniel, 1709; John, 1711; Dennis, 1713; Sarah, 1715, married Edward Dyer; Elizabeth, 1722; Darby, 1724; David, 1726; William, 1728. *Wanted:* parentage of Sarah Meeks and Darby Shawhan, Sr. I have compiled a rather complete record of descendants and will gladly exchange data.

Mounts: Lieut. Col. Providence Mounts, died 1784, Fayette County, Pa., wife Rachel, died 1805. Constable in 1760 of Old Town Hundred, Frederick County, Md.; in Colonial service in 1757 under Capt. Joseph Chapline, Fort Cumberland. To Pennsylvania in 1765, to that part now Connellsville, Fayette County. Lieut. Col. 2nd Battalion, Col. John Carnahan, 1776. Closely associated with Col. John Crawford in various Indian campaigns. His children: Abner married Mary; Thomas, 1764-1832, wife Nancy Crawford, went to Indiana; Asa married Josinah; Joshua, wife Elcy; Jesse; Providence, died 1813, Ohio County, W. Va., married Hannah Van Metere; Caleb, born 1766, married Christinia, went to Indiana; Josina married Capt. Jacob White, went to Hamilton County, Ohio; Ann married Anderson; Joseph, died 1782, Westmoreland County, Pa. Parentage of Providence Mounts, Sr., and wife Rachel, wanted. Tradition in family is that he or his wife was related to Lafayette. He had brothers Joseph, died 1797, Allegany County, Md., wife Elenor; brother William, wife Elizabeth of Westmoreland County, Pa.; sister Grizzel. I have a fairly complete record of descendants. Will gladly exchange data.

Shawhan: Daniel, born 1709, son of Darby of Kent County, Md., married Jennett. They removed to Frederick County, Md., about 1750, later to Hampshire County, Va., where in 1775 he sold his livestock to his son Darby, 1748-1824, the Warren County, Ohio, pioneer. His other son, Daniel, Jr., born 1738, was the Kentucky pioneer of Bourbon County, Ky. *Wanted:* parentage of Jennett who married Daniel Shawhan, Sr.

William G. Hills,
6 Shepherd St., Chevy Chase, Md.

Stricker: The following information is gathered from a MS on George Stricker, by the late Miss Amy Hull, genealogist:

"Catherine or Catherina Springer, see records of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Frederick Co., Md., in which it is written that Catherina and George Stricker are godparents to a certain child in 1767.

"According to family records, Mary Stricker, daughter of Colonel George, married Ninian Beall, March 7, 1780. In Scharf's *History of Western Maryland*, p. 427, is the following marriage notice: Ninian Beall and Anna Maria Stricker, March 7, 1780."

Helen Harris.

Solomon Rutter, b. Oct. 16, 1761, d. Feb. 28, 1821, m. 1788 (at Zion Church, Baltimore) Margaretta Reidenaur who was b. June 27, 1769 and d. ———. Solomon Rutter was the son of Thomas Rutter and Sarah, his second wife. Was she Sarah Spicer and, if so, who were her parents? Who were the parents of Margaretta Reidenaur?

Wanted. Any information about the following Willetts of Maryland. (1) Edward, will. 1743, m. Tabitha ———. Who was Tabitha? (2) Edward Jr., will 1772, m. 2nd Grace Litton. Who was his first wife? (3) Ninian d. 1809, m. Ann Fleming.

Who was John Fleming, of Prince George's & Montgomery County, Md., b. 1714, d. 1796?

Who was Robert White, d. 1768 in Prince Georges Co., m. at All Hallows Church, Sept. 22, 1709, Ann, daughter of Edward Burgess?

(Miss) Jessie H. Meyer
Ruxton, Md.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The regular meeting of the Society which was to have been held on March 13, 1939, was cancelled on account of alterations which were being made in the Library and Gallery.

April 10, 1939. The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight with President Radcliffe in the chair. The following persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mrs. Benjamin H. Brewster, Jr.
Miss Grace Birmingham.
Mr. Peter P. Blanchard.
Mr. Leslie P. Dryden.
Mr. Edmond S. Donoho.
Mr. Joseph Townsend England.
Mr. James W. Flack, Jr.
Miss Louisa McE. Fowler.
Mr. Eugene Frederick.
Mrs. James McClure Gillet.
Mr. Poultney Gorter.
Mr. Arthur D. Gans.
Mr. Arthur Hall, Jr.

Mrs. S. Henry Hamilton.
Mrs. M. John Lynch.
Mr. Park W. T. Loy.
Mrs. Jameson Parker.
Mr. Elmer F. Ruark.
Mr. Blanchard Randall, Jr.
Mrs. Frank Dyer Sanger.
Mr. Gideon N. Steff.
Mr. John W. Sherwood.
Mrs. Mark Sullivan.
Mr. R. Marsden Smith.
Mr. William H. Wootton.

Associate

Mr. William A. Bullock.

Mr. Arthur Pierce Middleton.

It was stated that Captain Anthony Eden, of London, England, accepted with great appreciation Honorary Membership in the Society.

The deaths of the following members were reported:

Mrs. Charles W. Stetson, January —, 1939.

Mr. Richard Henry Thomas, February 4, 1939.

Mr. J. A. Dushane Penniman, March 5, 1939.

Miss Ida M. Eaton, April 4, 1939.

Mr. C. Ross McKenrick read a paper entitled "New Munster and the Part Played by Ulster Scots in the Penn-Calvert Conflict." A vote of thanks was extended to Mr. McKenrick for his interesting paper.

May 8, 1939. At the regular meeting of the Society, President Radcliffe presiding, the following persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Donald H. Sherwood.

Mr. William H. Peirce.

Mrs. John L. Whitehurst.

Mrs. William H. Peirce.

Mr. Richard Goldsborough.

Mr. Ira D. Watkins.

Mr. Thomas Carroll Roberts.

Associate

Mr. Thomas E. Waggaman.

Mr. H. Minot Pitman.

Mr. Daniel MacIntyre Henderson.

The deaths of the following members was recorded:

Mr. Alexander H. Bell, February 21, 1939.

Mr. Philemon Kennard Wright, April 25, 1939.

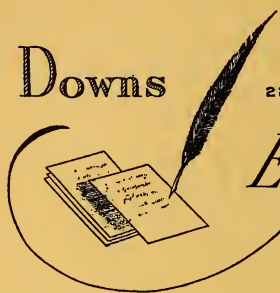
Mr. B. H. Hartogensis read a paper entitled, "The Jews in Early Maryland History." The unanimous thanks of the Society were extended to the speaker.

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The Maryland Historical Magazine is published in March, June, September and December of each year. Entered as second class matter April 24, 1917, at the post office at Baltimore Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXXIV.

SEPTEMBER, 1939.

No. 3.

ROGER B. TANEY AND THE TENETS OF DEMOCRACY *

By CARL BRENT SWISHER

For more than a century and a half the United States has been the proving ground for a great experiment in democracy. Long ago, indeed, we ceased to think of democracy as experimental as far as our country was concerned, for with us it had become a permanent form of government. Yet in a sense it has remained experimental down through the years, and must remain so as long as life within the country and our relations with other countries continue to change. Change has kept us continually in transition, continually reconceiving and reworking our political institutions, in order best to promote the welfare and protect the liberties of the people and maintain the essence of democracy. The effectiveness of our striving for the best that democracy can yield has been determined in part by the calibre of the rank and file of our people. It has also been determined in part by the qualities of imagination, the persuasiveness and tact, and the political skill of the men who in the several eras of American history have been our leaders. At a time when theories of democracy stand at bay in other sections of the world, there is value in examining the experiences of American democratic leaders of other times, to gain new perspective on struggles which without perspective may seem wholly new.

Prominent among the leaders of the internal battles for democracy being fought a century ago was a son of the Free State of Maryland, Roger Brooke Taney. The purpose of this discussion is not to praise the man and his work. He has been richly and justly praised by

* An address delivered before the Maryland Historical Society on February 13, 1939. The author is Thomas P. Stran Professor of Political Science at the Johns Hopkins University. The materials in his biography entitled *Roger B. Taney*, published in 1935 by the Macmillan Company, have been used freely for the purpose of this address.

others and by us¹ on other occasions. Neither is the purpose that of presenting the conventional facts of his biography, which have likewise been presented elsewhere. It is rather to show how at different periods in his life he participated in the struggles amid which the people worked out such democratic conditions as they were able to achieve. The first part of the account inevitably deals with Taney's experience as a Federalist in his early years, and with his gradual drift from Federalism into the ranks of the proponents of a broader democracy. Thereafter it deals with two great problems of the middle and later period of his life: first, problems of using corporations to promote the welfare of the people, without allowing them to dominate the democratic system; second, problems of harmonizing democracy with the existence of the institution of slavery. In the first he had a measure of success in his own time. In the second he met ultimate failure before the inexorable sweep of social change. But quite apart from success or failure, the details of his struggles have significance for us here, in making us more at home in a world where dynamic struggles over the workings of democracy still go on.

The life of Roger B. Taney began in 1777, in the midst of a revolution in which a nation struggled to be born. It ended in 1864, in the midst of another revolution in which that nation struggled not to die, and in which men on both sides gave their lives for principles they held dear. Taney's life span covered more than half the period of our independent existence as a nation. In addition to the struggles amid which it began and ended, it witnessed the experience of the United States in two other major wars. It witnessed other conflicts not military in nature but no less significant, as the growth of the country and the beginnings of industrialism and large-scale business enterprise taxed the flexibility and the effectiveness of democracy. Taney was in state or federal office intermittently, and was engaged in political activity almost continuously, from his election to the Maryland House of Delegates in 1799 until his appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States in 1837. He served as Chief Justice until the date of his death. The purpose of this account, as I have already indicated, is not to repeat the well-known story of his life, but to examine certain aspects of his political conduct and ideas, through years in which the tenets of democracy sought realization within the panorama of social and economic change.

¹ An earlier address dealing more generally with the life of Chief Justice Taney was delivered May 11, 1936, before a joint meeting of the Maryland Historical Society and the Bar Association of Baltimore City. It was published in the *Baltimore Daily Record*, May 12, 1936.

Roger Taney's democratic ideas were, for the most part, not inherited, or indoctrinated by early training, but were the product of his own thought and experience during his mature years. His father, Michael Taney, and other relatives, were no doubt in sympathy with the Revolution, but their participation seems to have been limited chiefly to local defense in southern Maryland. After the Revolution, no longer disfranchised because of his Catholic affiliation, Michael Taney served a number of terms in the Maryland legislature, opposing such measures as that modifying the aristocratic law of primogeniture which then prevailed in Maryland. He let it be known that, in spite of the legislative change, his own property would be disposed of in the traditional manner.² Along with the wealthier and more aristocratic citizens of the state, he aligned himself with the Federalist party.

In 1799 Michael Taney and his influential friends in Calvert County brought about the election of Roger Taney to the lower house of the Maryland General Assembly. The election was *viva voce*, at a mass assemblage at one central point, where a maximum of persuasion and pressure might be exerted on recalcitrant voters. Young Taney evidently saw nothing wrong with this procedure. As a member of the legislature he opposed measures to provide for the secret ballot and other reforms calculated to promote the independence of the voter. He was defeated for reelection at the ensuing term. In a campaign taking its tone from the struggle between the Federalists and the Jeffersonian Republicans he was derided and ridiculed by the Jefferson faction for being an aristocrat.

After moving to Frederick in 1801 and beginning the practice of law at that place, Taney quickly achieved prominence as one of the younger leaders of the Federalist party. He worked loyally with other leaders and his influence continued to grow, until the outbreak of the war of 1812. Then suddenly, for the period of the war, he and a substantial bloc of the party membership broke away from the dominant group in the party. The latter group, known colloquially as the "blue light" Federalists, bitterly resented the loss to American business resulting from the war, denounced the party in power in Washington, and clamored for the restoration of peace. The members of Taney's faction came to be known as Coodies, from Abimilech Coody, a quaint, fictitious character created by Gulian C. Verplanck of New York. Taney was often referred to as King Coody. The Coodies insisted that whatever the right and wrong of

² Roger B. Taney, "Early Life and Education," in Samuel Tyler, *Memoir of Roger Brooke Taney*, p. 34.

the war issues, the country was in the war, and must forget internal strife and defend itself.³

Taney was much concerned about public apathy toward the war, in Maryland and elsewhere. "The two great parties who divide the country," he wrote to General William H. Winder in August, 1814, "are too busy quarreling with one another and preparing for the ensuing elections to bestow much thought on defending the country against the common enemy. Scarcely any one marches willingly, or encourages others to march, and this state of public feeling is likely to be continued, unless some measures shall be taken to rouse the people, and animate them with the spirit of resistance. If those who are in authority at Washington, will give themselves a little trouble they might easily make their political friends ashamed of abandoning them in the midst of the perils, into which they have encouraged them to go."⁴

The breach within the Federalist party was partly healed after the end of the war, and during the period of the survival of the party Taney remained one of the most influential members. His temporary break with the conservative party leaders is not proof of the development of democratic ideas. It is significant, however, in showing Taney at a stage in his intellectual development where he insisted on thinking and acting for himself, whatever the policies and program of his party. By 1821, at the time of the expiration of Taney's five year term in the Maryland Senate, the Federalist party was well on its way to dissolution, and its former members were seeking new alignments. In the process of adjustment, further opportunity was given for the working out of individual beliefs, without dictation from any political group.

Early evidence of the development of democratic sentiments, and of an inclination to align himself with democratic groups, is found in a letter written to a friend early in 1824, a year after Taney moved to Baltimore. He was convinced that the members of the old Federalist party could not unite in support of any one man for the presidency. Each would choose for himself. Of all the prominent candidates he predicted that John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson would be the principal contenders, but he thought that neither had enough strength to be chosen outright, and that the election would go to Congress. As for himself, he was "a good deal inclined to go with the rest for Old Hickory."

³ Swisher, *Roger B. Taney*, Chapter IV.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66. Dated August 4, 1814. Copied from the Force transcripts in the Library of Congress, from the William H. Winder Papers.

He explained his attitude in the following significant language: "Jackson is not indeed the man I would name for President, if it rested with me to choose from the whole United States. But compared with his competitors he stands on strong grounds. He is honest, he is independent, is not brought forward by any particular class of politicians, or any sectional interest. He is not one of the Secretaries. He is taken up spontaneously by the people, and if he is elected will owe obligations to no particular persons. It is a way in which a President ought to come in, for he is then unfettered by secret promises and may act independently. I am sick of all Secretary candidates, and would be glad to see it understood that a man might be elected without the patronage of the President for the time being, or the power of members of Congress, or a combination of mercenary presses or local interests."⁵

These sentiments, hostile to dictated nominations and hierarchies of succession to the presidency, suggested a new Taney in sharp contrast with the boy who had complacently accepted election to office as a result of the influence, and probably the coercive activities, of his father and other landed proprietors of southern Maryland. The inclination in the direction of Jackson was the forerunner of a close alignment with the hero of the battle of New Orleans, and of full commitment to the principles of Jacksonian democracy. Taney, in the capacity of a private citizen, supported Jackson in 1824, and in 1828 he supported him as chairman of the Central Committee of the Jackson Party in Maryland. In 1831 he resigned the position of attorney general of Maryland and accepted that of Attorney General of the United States under Jackson. From September, 1833, to June, 1834, he served as Secretary of the Treasury on an interim appointment. Confirmation was denied by the Senate because of his part in the monetary policies of the Jackson administration. Confirmation as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court was withheld in 1835 for the same reason. Confirmation as the successor to Chief Justice John Marshall was made possible in 1837 by previous changes in Senate personnel. During these middle years it was for his democracy, for his insistence on the right of self rule by the people, and for his opposition to oligarchies whether political or economic, and not for anything resembling his earlier Federalism, that he was praised by his friends and assailed by his political enemies.⁶

⁵ Taney to William M. Beall, April 13, 1824. The letter is in the possession of Miss Nannie Floyd, of Frederick, Maryland.

⁶ For a detailed account of these political struggles see Swisher, *Roger B. Taney*, Chapters VII to XVI.

In the analysis of Taney's conceptions of democracy it is well to call to mind one of the conditions essential to the survival of democracy. That condition is the existence of a spirit of enterprise on the part of the people, a spirit of adventure, a mixture of calculation, faith and daring, in effort to improve the conditions of living, both economic and otherwise. That spirit must be restrained by government and kept within bounds, but it survives by virtue of its own virility, and not by virtue of governmental encouragement or support. Without such a spirit there can be no democratic society, and no democratic government. There can be only dictatorship or chaos. The American nation in the time of Taney and Jackson was filled with the zest of youth. The achievement of great things needed only the preservation of order. The preservation of order was the task of government. It was almost the sole task. A few social services were left to it, and a few tasks thought too great for private enterprise.

Taney was an admirer of enterprise and an enthusiast for projects which promoted the economic welfare of the people. In the legislative year 1799-1800, in the Maryland House of Delegates, he supported the building of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, then no simple task, to add to the trading area of the farmers of tide-water Maryland.⁷ At a time when banks were virtually new institutions in the country he aided in the establishment and operation of local banks for the use of the people of central and western Maryland. As a state senator he supported measures to curb abuses in the field of banking, just as he supported measures for the preservation of order in other fields, but he regarded such action only as clearing the way for legitimate operations. In the early years he evidently thought the establishment of the Bank of the United States a laudable project, in spite of or because of its restraining influence on state banks. At any rate he opposed the enactment of the Maryland measure for taxing the Bank which resulted in the celebrated case of *McCulloch v. Maryland*.⁸ It was only after the revelation of gross abuses on the part of the Bank of the United States that he became hostile to it.

The subject of public improvements, including at first roads and canals, and, at a later date, railroads, was of deep interest to Taney. He and his brother, Augustus, and his brother-in-law, Francis Scott

⁷ For source materials on these and other activities see *Votes and Proceedings of the Maryland House of Delegates* for 1799.

⁸ 4 Wheaton 316. For Taney's early experience with state banks see Swisher, *Roger B. Taney*, pp. 83 ff.

Key, attended many internal improvement conventions, and led or joined in discussions of methods and finances. Taney strongly urged the building of a canal to connect the Potomac River with the West. In the discussions of the 1820's he thought the task too great for a private corporation in terms of the experience of the times, however, and recommended that it be done by the federal government or by that government in cooperation with the governments of Maryland and Virginia. When the building of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad into the same area was later begun, he transferred his enthusiasm to the more modern project, and his services to the company carrying it on.⁹

In 1837, in his opinion in the Charles River Bridge case,¹⁰ Chief Justice Taney revealed the same deep interest in the field of American enterprise. He denied the contention that the rights of corporations should be construed broadly, with the effect of blocking the achievements of later years. "If this court should establish the principles now contended for," he said, "what is to become of the numerous railroads established on the same line of travel with turnpike companies; and which have rendered the franchises of the turnpike companies of no value? Let it once be understood that such charters carry with them these implied contracts, and give this unknown and undefined property in a line of traveling, and you will soon find the old turnpike corporations awakening from their sleep, and calling upon this court to put down the improvements which have taken place. The millions of property which have been invested in railroads and canals, upon lines of travel which had been before occupied by turnpike corporations, will be put in jeopardy. We shall be thrown back to the improvements of the last century, and obliged to stand still until the claims of the old turnpike corporations shall be satisfied, and they shall consent to permit these States to avail themselves of the lights of modern science, and to partake of the benefit of those improvements which are now adding to the wealth and prosperity, and the convenience and comfort, of every other part of the civilized world."¹¹

Elsewhere in the same opinion he declared that "The object and end of all government is to promote the happiness and prosperity of the community by which it is established; and it can never be assumed, that the government intended to diminish its power of accomplishing the end for which it was created. And in a country like ours, free,

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-117.

¹⁰ *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge*, 11 Peters 420.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 552-553.

active, and enterprising, continually advancing in numbers and wealth; new channels of communication are daily found necessary, both for travel and trade; and are essential to the comfort, convenience, and prosperity of the people.”¹²

But if an enterprising people was necessary to the success of democratic government, it was also necessary that the people recognize their long range interests, and have the courage to fight for them. Taney deplored the timidity of those business men who cringed before the coercive activities of the Bank of the United States, and who urged the restoration of government deposits to it by way of “appeasement.” “Peace in our time” is not a new conception. Those acquainted with the events of Taney’s struggle with the Bank will remember that that powerful financial institution involved itself heavily in the presidential campaign of 1832, and used its influence over currency and credit for definitely political purposes. Taney and Jackson were convinced that the renewal of the charter of the Bank, which was to expire in 1836, would invite a menace to all state banks, to the government, and to the community at large. Accordingly, in 1833, they made plans gradually to weaken the political influence of the bank by ceasing to use it as a depository of government funds. The Bank retaliated by an unnecessarily rapid contraction of its loans, conducting its operations in such a way as to create widespread financial distress.

Taney was not blind to the predicament of the state banks and the business men who were entrapped by the machinations of the Bank of the United States, but he believed that surrender to the Bank, even though it might bring temporary relief from oppression, would leave both the government and the people at its mercy. In the following language he recounted in part a conversation which he held with a group of Baltimore friends concerning what he regarded as the somewhat disreputable part played by some citizens of Baltimore in the struggle with the Bank:

“That the merchants themselves had, by their own conduct, and meetings, and resolutions, and deputations to Washington, contributed greatly to increase the excitement and alarm, and by that means disabled the state banks from loaning as freely as they would otherwise have done—that if the mercantile community of a commercial city chose to proclaim itself on the eve of bankruptcy, everybody would naturally believe them, and be unwilling to trust them, and that embarrassment and distress would unavoidably follow the destruction of credit.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 547.

"That if they expected to drive the administration from its course by such measures they were mistaken, that the government was not responsible for evils which merchants, or any other class of individuals voluntarily brought on themselves for political party purposes; and it could not be expected to change its course on that account. And if by persisting in fostering the alarm they had excited, and increasing the panic, they should produce the general ruin which they said was about to fall on the city, it would not change the measures of the administration—that the evil would be the work of their own hands for which the government was in no degree responsible; that it was in their power to produce or avert it, and they could not justly charge, upon the government, the evils which they themselves should voluntarily occasion." ¹³

It should be remembered that Taney was not originally hostile to the Bank of the United States. His hostility grew out of its abuse of its powers. It acted at times ruthlessly, and without reference to the public good. It came near to challenging the powers of the federal government by which it was created. Its existence became a threat to the successful operation of democratic government.¹⁴ The struggle gave rise to his concern about the influence of moneyed interests over the people and their government. It enhanced his watchfulness of all groups, whether propertied, class or sectional, which might turn the government to the use of some for the oppression or others.

Taney's experience with the Bank of the United States naturally provoked reflection on the rights and duties of corporations in a democratic system. Corporations were being created in great numbers by legislatures throughout the country. They were necessary to the promotion of business and industrial enterprise. Yet if they became too powerful they constituted a possible threat to the liberties of the people and the independence of government itself. Taney never worked out a complete plan for the solution of the problem. As a member of the Supreme Court he dealt with a significant aspect of the subject in the case of *Bank of Augusta v. Earle*,¹⁵ decided in 1839. The court was faced with the argument, on the one hand, that a corporation of one state could do business wherever it desired in any of the states, without reference to the desires of the states to which it might migrate. The opposing argument was that a corporation had no existence outside the state by which it was created, and therefore could not do business beyond its borders. The first

¹³ Taney to Upton S. Heath, March 10, 1834, published in *Niles' Weekly Register*, March 22, 1834.

¹⁴ See Swisher, *Roger B. Taney*, Chapters IX to XVII.

¹⁵ 13 Peters 519.

interpretation would have allowed corporations to roam and do business without adequate governmental restraint. The second would have hampered them so much as to constitute a serious impediment to business. For the opinion of the court Chief Justice Taney chose a middle ground, holding that corporations might do business in other states through their agents, but subject only to the consent of the other states. The right of corporations to do business where they would in the United States was in this manner virtually assured, with the reservation that they must conform to such constitutional conditions as were prescribed by the states into which they moved. Taney's opinion has always been regarded as a fine example of judicial statesmanship.

He had no cure for the evils resulting from broad grants of corporate power by ignorant or careless legislatures. He insisted that corporate rights must be narrowly construed, conveying nothing not clearly conveyed by the language of the grant; but if the rights were clearly given, he took the position that it was not within the power of the Supreme Court to relieve the states from the obligations created by their representatives.

Taney had a conception of the duties of corporations to society which has unfortunately tended to disappear in later years. The conception doubtless developed in part from the fact that many of the early corporations owed not merely their existence, but certain monopoly rights as well, to the states which created them. In 1832, as Attorney General of the United States, Taney discussed as follows a corporation chartered by the legislature of Virginia to build and operate a toll bridge:

"An act of incorporation of this description can never be considered as having been granted for the exclusive benefit of the corporators. Certain privileges are given to them, in order to obtain a public convenience; and the interest of the public must, I presume, always be regarded as the main object of every charter for a toll-bridge or a turnpike road. The exclusive privileges are not given to the corporators merely for individual emolument, or from favoritism, but are granted as a compensation for the public convenience derived, or expected to be derived, from the work done by them, and are offered in the charter as inducements to individuals to undertake it. And this must especially be the case in a charter like this, where the power of the eminent domain is exercised in taking the property of individuals without their consent, in order to make the contemplated work."¹⁸

¹⁸ *Norfolk Drawbridge Company and the United States*, May 16, 1832, 2 Official Opinions of the Attorney General 512.

Taney carried the idea further in 1836, after the date of his confirmation as Chief Justice, in analyzing for President Jackson a bill to recharter the banks of the District of Columbia. "Every charter granted by a state or by the United States," he wrote, "to a bank or to any other company for the purposes of trade or manufacture, is a grant of peculiar privileges, and gives to the individuals who compose the corporation, rights and privileges which are not possessed by other members of the community. It would be against the spirit of our free institutions, by which equal rights are intended to be secured to all, to grant peculiar franchises and privileges to a body of individuals merely for the purpose of enabling them more conveniently and effectually to advance their own private interests. No charter could rightfully be granted on that ground. The considerations upon which alone, such peculiar privileges can be granted is the expectation and prospect of promoting thereby some public interest, and it follows from these principles that in every case where it is proposed to grant or to renew a charter the interests or wishes of the individuals who desire to be incorporated, ought not to influence the decision of the government. The only inquiry which the constituted authorities can properly make on such an application, is whether the charter applied for, is likely to produce any real benefit to the community, and whether the benefit is sufficient to justify the grant."¹⁷

Taney's conception of public benefit as the basis for granting corporate charters has not been generally adhered to, and has often been forgotten although the requirement of certificates of public convenience and necessity limits the activities of corporations in public utility fields. It would be administratively difficult to place emphasis upon Taney's conception in a system of granting charters pursuant not to specific enactments but to general laws. Yet, in summary on this point, for maintaining the control of the people over agencies created by their government, something has been lost by our forgetfulness that a corporation owes an obligation to society in return for the right of existence given to it by government.

Taney's conception of democracy in the United States, when fully worked out, stopped short of including people of the colored race. He concerned himself with the welfare of individual Negroes. He liberated his own slaves and continued to look after their welfare.

¹⁷ The manuscript from which this paragraph is quoted is in the Jackson Papers in the Library of Congress, filed with materials of June 20, 1836. It is in Taney's handwriting. It is unsigned, except that his initials are appended to a memorandum which he wrote on the back. Its only date is a date in pencil written by another hand, but from the context it seems to be approximately correct.

He supported legislation for the protection of free Negroes. In an argument in court delivered in 1819 Taney declared that until the institution of slavery was wiped away, "until the time shall come when we can point without a blush, to the language held in the Declaration of Independence, every friend of humanity will seek to lighten the galling chain of slavery, and better, to the utmost of his power, the wretched condition of the slave."¹⁸ In 1832, however, in a supplement to an opinion as Attorney General prepared for the Secretary of State, he took a different view of the implications of the Declaration of Independence:

"Our Declaration of Independence we know was drawn by a distinguished citizen of a slave holding state. And when it was asserted in that instrument 'that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed;—no one ever supposed that the African race in this country were entitled to the benefit of this declaration, nor did any one imagine that they had a right to claim the extension of that great principle to themselves."¹⁹

In the body of the opinion Taney set forth the argument concerning the citizenship rights of Negroes which won him bitter notoriety when reexpressed twenty-five years later in the Dred Scott case: "The African race in the United States even when free, are every where a degraded class, and exercise no political influence. The privileges they are allowed to enjoy, are accorded to them as a matter of kindness and benevolence rather than of right. They are the only class of persons who can be held as mere property, as slaves. And where they are nominally admitted by law to the privileges of citizenship, they have no effectual power to defend them, and are permitted to be citizens by the sufferance of the white population and hold whatever rights they enjoy at their mercy. They were never regarded as a constituent portion of the sovereignty of any state. But as a separate and degraded people to whom the sovereignty of each state might accord or withhold such privileges as they deemed proper. They were not looked upon as citizens by the contracting parties who formed the Constitution. They were evidently not sup-

¹⁸ See David Martin, *Trial of the Rev. Jacob Gruber, Minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, at the March Term, 1819, in the Frederick County Court, for a Misdemeanor*, 1819, pp. 42-44.

¹⁹ From a copy filed with a letter from Taney to Secretary of State Edward Livingston, June 9, 1832, in Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State which have recently been transferred to the custody of the National Archives.

posed to be included by the term *citizens*. And were not intended to be embraced in any of the provisions of that Constitution but those which point to them in terms not to be mistaken." ²⁰

Taney's conception of the place of the Negro in society, like his attitude toward the Bank of the United States, had much to do with the shaping of his ideas as to governmental powers. As Attorney General he questioned the power of the federal government to make treaties in conflict with state laws dealing with Negroes coming from other countries.²¹ He was convinced that "the power to guard themselves on this point is reserved to the states and cannot therefore be contested by the treaty making power conferred on the general government."

He admitted the probability, however, in the Attorney General opinion from which the above excerpts are taken, that the Supreme Court would decide otherwise if a case came before it. "Indeed," he said, "judging from the past I think it highly probably that the court will declare the law of South Carolina null and void if contrary to the stipulations in the treaty whenever the question comes before it." It is interesting that he did not recommend that the Executive adopt in advance the construction he expected the Supreme Court to give. He questioned, indeed, the binding quality of Supreme Court decisions as limitations on future conduct, except with respect to the parties involved in particular cases. "I am not prepared," he said, "to admit that a construction given to the Constitution by the Supreme Court in deciding any one or more cases fixes of itself irrevocably and permanently its construction in that particular and binds the states and the legislative and executive branches of the general government, forever afterward to conform to it and adopt it in every other case as the true reading of the instrument although all of them may unite in believing it to be erroneous. If the judgment pronounced by the court be conclusive it does not follow that the reasoning or principles which it announces in coming to its conclusions are equally binding and obligatory."

This opinion, heretical at a number of points, was not published with other opinions of Attorneys General, and therefore did not

²⁰ The manuscript containing the text of the main body of the opinion was found in the Attorney General Papers of the period, which have recently been transferred to the custody of the National Archives. The opinion, dated May 28, 1832, has to do with a South Carolina statute relative to free people of color coming into the state on merchant vessels. It is a highly significant historical document, and is eminently worthy of publication.

²¹ In addition to the manuscript opinion from which the quotations are taken see also *Slaves on British Vessels Trading to the United States*, December 6, 1831, 2 Official Opinions of the Attorneys General 475.

constitute an embarrassment to the author after he became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Although to lawyers and students of government every paragraph is a matter of interest, its importance lies not so much in its details, as in the revelation of efforts to adapt political ideas to the problems of national life. His conception of democracy did not demand the granting of political rights to Negroes. On the other hand, it did demand the preservation of the individual sections of the country, in the sense that none was to have its institutions dominated and fundamentally changed by others. The prospect was growing steadily that the federal government would become the instrument of northern people for coercing southern institutions into harmony with their own. Rather than see the South dominated in this fashion Taney seems to have preferred secession and the establishment of an independent democracy in the South. He had little hope, however, for the success of such a project. Something of his attitude can be found in a letter to his son-in-law in 1856 concerning the approaching presidential election:

"As far as the South is concerned, I think it matters very little, if Buchanan is defeated, whether Fremont or Fillmore is chosen. But there will be no dissolution of the Union in either event. The Constitution will undoubtedly be trampled under foot, and the Union will be one of power and weakness, like the union of England and Ireland, or Russia and Poland. But how can the southern states divide, with any hope of success, when in almost every one of them there is a strong and powerful party, acting in concert with the northern Know Nothings, and willing to hold power from the North, if they may be enabled thereby, to obtain the honors and offices of the general government, and domineer in their own states. . . . The South is doomed to sink to a state of inferiority, and the power of the North will be exercised to gratify their cupidity and their evil passions, without the slightest regard to the principles of the Constitution. There are many bold and brave men at the South who have no vassal feeling to the North. And they will probably stand to their arms if Fremont is elected, or further aggressions made under Fillmore. But what can they do, with a powerful enemy in their midst? I grieve over this condition of things, but it is my deliberate opinion that the South is doomed, and that nothing but a firm united action, nearly unanimous in every state, can check northern insult and northern aggression. But it seems this cannot be." ²²

²² Taney to J. Mason Campbell, October 2, 1856, a manuscript letter in the possession of the author.

As this letter demonstrates, it was upon the shoals of sectionalism that Taney's statesmanship went aground. He was of course justified in dreading the oppression of one section of the country by another, the oppression of people of one way of thinking by people of other modes of thought. He may have been right in his prediction that the South was doomed. Certainly the effects of the sectional war can be regarded only as catastrophic for the South. Certainly no contrary conclusion is to be derived from the recent remark of President Roosevelt that the South is the nation's Number One economic problem.²³ Unfortunately, we seek in vain among Taney's papers, for suggestions as to how catastrophe might be averted, people and sectional differences being what they were. In the *Dred Scott* case²⁴ he tried by constitutional interpretation to curb the powers of the federal government, and succeeded only in fanning the flames of hatred. In the *Booth* cases²⁵ he presented a superb discussion of state-federal relations, but amid the heated emotions of conflict it was then too late for such discussions to have any appreciable effect.

To those in no way connected with the conflict it may seem that Taney should have taken a more Olympian view of the course of events. He should have recognized the fact that with the thickening of the population, the development of industries, the building of railroads and the improvement of transportation and communication generally, and the increased dependence of man upon man, the country, in spite of territorial expansion, was in effect growing smaller. More fields of activity were yielding to centralized control by government. The reaching out of the federal government to touch local institutions was inevitable. He professed a belief in democracy, which implied government by the majority and obedience by the minority. Taney was too intimately involved in the struggle, however, to take an Olympian view. He was in no position to work out from trends and principles a solution for the problems of sectional conflict. Perhaps too much in the way of constructive statesmanship ought not to be expected of a man well beyond the milestone of three score years and ten. We can only regret that in the field of statecraft he and others with him, both north and south, failed to demonstrate that ingenuity and inventiveness which among statesmen as well as in the fields of business, industry and agriculture is a prerequisite to the functioning of democracy.

²³ See National Emergency Council, *Report on Economic Conditions of the South*, 1938, p. 1.

²⁴ *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 19 Howard 393. ²⁵ *Ableman v. Booth*, 21 Howard 506.

A brief account like this hardly admits of a summary. Yet certain things may perhaps be said for the sake of emphasis. To take points in reverse order: First, Taney's conception of democracy, limited by racial barriers, provided no solution for the sectional crisis. His thinking was not more barren than that of other leaders, but the situation proved too complex for the minds of men to solve.

Second, apart from the colored race, Taney accepted democracy as the ideal form of government to impose such restraints on the people as were necessary in the interest of all. He thought of the welfare of the people as promoted chiefly by the courage and industry and ingenuity of individual men, and not by governmental paternalism. He regarded the corporation as a necessary device for the promotion of business and industry, but he saw the danger inherent in aggregations of wealth, and sought to develop legal principles to keep them within bounds. In seeking to keep corporations well under control and prevent their predatory encroachment on individual and small-scale enterprise he was working counter to the trends of the times. The nation owes him gratitude for the legal principles he was able to entrench, and for his efforts in behalf of others.

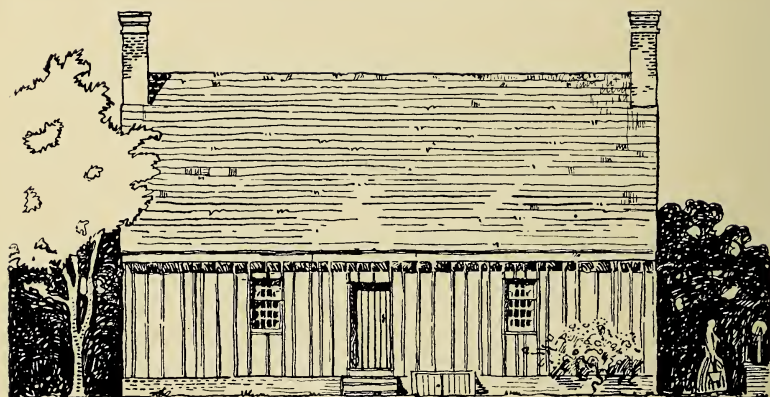
Some of the most difficult problems of democracy in the United States today arise from the fact that so much enterprise is in the hands of huge, impersonal corporations, managed without reference to careful plans for the public welfare.²⁶ Taney's struggle with the Bank of the United States has parallels for today, save that we must usually live with and attempt to govern these great economic units, rather than destroy them. One of the dangers is that we may not be able to exert the needed restraint. Another is that the people, habituated to service as cogs in corporate machines, may lose the enterprising character which during Taney's life made democracy possible. A further danger is that corporations, having succeeded to power, may themselves become stultified, leaving to government alone the task of positive leadership in enterprise.

Third and finally, Taney's conceptions of democracy were the product of his own thought and experience. In a world of change such as ours, government adapted to the needs of the people can never be the product of dogma and tradition alone. It must be reshaped and remolded to the needs of the times. In no respect does Taney prove more worthy of praise and emulation than in his willingness and ability to accept political change as thought and experience marked out his course.

²⁶ See Adolf B. Berle, Jr., and Gardiner C. Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, 1933.



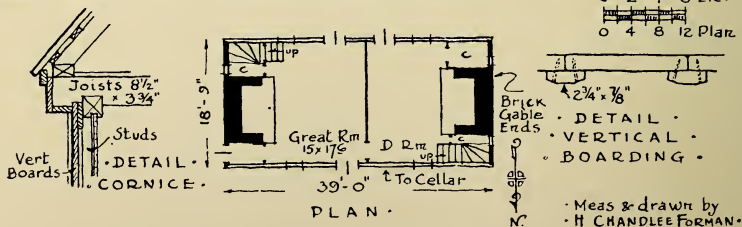
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• NORTH ELEVATION •

0 2 4 6 Elev
0 4 8 12 Plan



"THE ENDING OF CONTROVERSIE"

Top: All that remains of the seventeenth century house closely identified with Wenlocke Christison. Here the first Friends' meeting in Maryland, of which there is any record, was held in 1676.

Bottom: Plan and elevation, showing brick gable-ends, and the vertical planks in the Anglo-Saxon manner of "palisades."

WENLOCKE CHRISTISON'S PLANTATION, "THE ENDING OF CONTROVERSIE"

By HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

Down at the end of a dusty road in Talbot County on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and beside silver Goldsborough Creek, there stands today in an almost incredible state of ruin the seventeenth century house closely identified with Wenlocke Christison, a man who was no less a pioneer of religious freedom in this country than was John Bowne of New York, or Samuel Gorton of Rhode Island. In truth, so important in the annals of Maryland is the very name of Wenlocke Christison, that the Maryland Tercentenary Commission in its brochure celebrating the founding of the Province and the establishment of religious toleration described how Christison was persecuted in Old England, and New England as well, and how he found on the Chesapeake Bay a home with the name of "The ending of Controversie." For all that, the house which almost certainly was this man's home, now doubtless over two hundred and fifty years old, has been allowed to become a dilapidated ruin on the brink of complete destruction, *uncared for* and *unknown*. So hidden away is this skeleton of a house that one can live for years within a couple of miles of it without learning that it is there.¹

In the year 1656 there began in New England what has been generally and not improperly called the persecution of the Quakers.² It was Wenlocke Christison who, for his Friends' faith, suffered twenty-seven "cruel stripes," laid on his bare body with calm deliberation in front of the standing magistrates of Plymouth, Massachusetts,—standing, because the judges, bidding the jailer lay on the whip, could the better see. It was Wenlocke who was ejected from Plymouth prison to travel on threepence a day in the dead of winter, the jailer having robbed him of his waistcoat, and the Governor having told him that he must "pay" for his preaching. Again, it was Wenlocke who was banished from Boston for being a member of the Society of Friends, with the attendant penalty of death should he return, and who, returning, was told that, unless he renounced his faith, he should die. One can almost hear the entreaties of his companion, who stood next to him in the court room, whispering,

¹ When the writer finally visited this building, and discovered that the construction was unique in Maryland, careful measurements and photographs were made for a permanent record.

² Hutchinson, T., *The History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, 1764, I, 201.

"Wenlocke, thy turn is next at hanging;" but Christison, having just seen a Friend hanged, said no, he would not change his faith, nor seek to save his life. Memorable are the words of Christison on this occasion: "for the last man that was put to death here are five come in his room, and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment."³ Finally, it was Wenlocke, who, along with two women, was stripped to the waist, tied to the tail of a cart and whipped through Boston, Roxbury and Dedham.⁴

When Wenlocke Christison found no haven in all New England—not even in Rhode Island where he stayed for a short time—and when he came to Maryland, the "land of sanctuary," it would seem entirely fitting that he should have given to his plantation by the Chesapeake the name of "The ending of Controversie." Popular tradition would have us so believe;⁵ but the fact remains that his plantation was owned previously by Francis Armstrong, a planter, who had the hundred and fifty acres of "The ending of Controversie" laid out on February 19, 1667. Armstrong likewise owned "Betty's Cove," the site of the first Friends' meeting-house on the Eastern Shore. He soon conveyed "The ending of Controversie" to the Calvert County physician, Peter Sharpe, who had a patent for it on the tenth of October the same year. Not until the first of August three years later (1670) did Dr. Sharp and his wife Judith give the tract to Christison as a gift.⁶ But even if Christison did not name it, some one else at any rate must have been buffeted in the Old World, or in the New, to seek tranquility on this Maryland plantation with the peaceful name.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *New England Judged Not By Man's, But The Spirit of the Lord*, etc., London, 1661, as given in Tilghman, O., *History of Talbot County*, I, 109. The first Quaker women to come to New England were ordered to be stripped to see if there were Devil's marks upon them, and thereafter almost every town was favored with the spectacle of Quaker women stripped to the middle, tied to a cart and whipped without mercy. *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XVIII, 390.

⁵ The brochure issued by the Maryland Tercentenary Commission stated that Christison "named his estate *The End of Controversie*."

⁶ Lib. 11, fols. 11, 92. Laid out February 19, 1667, for Francis Armstrong, a parcel of land called the ending of Controversie, and assigned to Peter Sharpe. The patent of this land, comprising one hundred and fifty acres, was granted October 10, 1667, to Peter Sharpe. The tract was bounded on the south by Fauseley Creek (now Glebe Creek), on the west by "Ashby," 800 acres granted Roger Grosse (1663), on the north by the Eastern Branch (now Goldsborough Creek) and on the east by land of John Kenemont and by "Fauseley," 250 acres granted Roger Grosse (1663). The writer has checked the bounds of "The ending of Controversie," and found that Wenlocke's supposed house is squarely within bounds. The house stands on the "Woodstock" property three miles northwest of Easton, Maryland. Also see Land Records, Lib. 1, fol. 120, Easton, Md.

The dwelling-place ascribed to Wenlocke is an interesting example—and a rare one, too—of a house built with random-width boards placed vertically on the long sides of the house. This method, employed in the New England whence Christison came, is the oldest known form of wooden construction in England. It may be described as the "palisade" style of building, and was brought to England over a thousand years ago by the Anglo-Saxons.⁷

There is no doubt that the "palisade" construction at Christison's is original. The boards are very old and weathered, fit tightly at the top under the cornice, and have chamfered wooden strips to cover the joints against the weather. Moreover, the nails are of the ancient wrought-iron square-headed type.

From an architectural viewpoint the building appears definitely to date from the seventeenth century, because it has all the earmarks of the period. Witness the great fireplaces, seven feet in span; the two little narrow "break-neck" winding staircases beside the chimneys; the vertical board partition, with simple carved mouldings, separating the rooms downstairs; the cellar and foundation laid up with the English bonded brickwork, characteristic of this period; the small windows and very steep roof; the little bedrooms with sloping ceilings; and, of course, the medieval adoption of "palisades." Indeed, the very plan is typical of this century: brick gable-ends, timber-framed sides, with two rooms downstairs, and two up—like, for instance, Clocker's Fancy in St. Mary's City, or Clay's Neck in Talbot County.⁸

In the "greate" room, which lies toward the east, the seven-foot fireplace is wainscoted and has a large rectangular panel. Upstairs, the whole west end of the bedroom over the dining room is panelled in simple taste, for even strict Quaker Wenlocke Christison was influenced by prevailing hand-carving fashions in Maryland. But in what condition lies this bedroom now! The arched fireplace with shelf moulded in cyma curves has no back but the open air. The doors to closet and staircase, as well as the central panel over the fireplace, have fallen off the house. Yet here in this room it very well may have been that Wenlocke died, his dust to be buried "in

⁷ For a fuller description of this building method, see chapter three of *Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance*, by the writer. The book by Harold R. Shurtleff, entitled "The Log Cabin Myth," at this writing on the eve of publication, should do much to dispel the popular fallacy that our earliest buildings were log cabins.

⁸ The fact that "The ending of Controversie" house has a type of wall construction unique in Maryland is additional evidence indicating that Christison built it, because he was not only an unusual man, but a much-travelled one. Before 1890, S. A. Harrison stated that Christison almost certainly built this building (Tilghman, *op. cit.*, I, 124).

decency and in order" within a fenced area "upon the Hill" close by.⁹

At the time of his death in 1679, Christison had in his home the following articles of furniture, among others: feather beds, blankets, sheets, bolsters, pillows and pillow cases, a warming pan (probably for the bedroom without a fireplace), a chest of drawers, a large standing table and a round table, a large wainscot chest, a trunk marked M C (probably for his daughter Mary), rugs and brass "twined" candlesticks. For the kitchen, which possibly lay to the west of the house, and for the dining room, we know that Christison had brass kettles and brass ladles, iron pots, a bell metal pot, a small skillet, pewter basins, and pewter dishes and porringers of various sizes. These articles, while not comprising the full furnishings of the house, indicate that "The ending of Controversie" did not bear the stamp of poverty. In those days relatively few persons owned such luxuries as brass candlesticks which were spirally twisted.

Christison bore an honorable name in Maryland, not only among Friends, but also in government circles. One of the first Quakers ever to hold public office, he was Burgess in the General Assembly, meeting in 1678 in St. Mary's City. Although he died the following year, his membership was retained until 1681, when it was noted that he was a "member deceased."¹⁰ He left a charming widow, Elizabeth (Harwood) Christison, *nee* Gary.¹¹ When this young woman found herself again a widow, after Wenlocke's death, she embarked upon two undertakings. The next property which she acquired was called "Widows Chance" (1679), and a little later she entered (1681) into bonds of holy matrimony for a third time,—William Dixon, "the Glover," being the fortunate choice.

There seems little doubt that William Dixon, also called planter, lived at Christison's after he married the widow. Certain it is that Dixon owned "The ending of Controversie" between her death in 1697 and his death in 1701.¹² Although the tract reverted to some persons called Edward Russam, John Ray, Thomas Roberts, and their wives, Isaac Dixon in 1731 possessed the whole hundred and fifty acres, so that the plantation may well be claimed as an old Dixon property.

⁹ Will of Wenlocke Christison, Lib. 2, fol. 89. His name was also spelled Christopherson, Christianson, Christson, Christisson, Christeson. Wenlocke was also spelled Wenlock, Winlock, Wendlocke. See Savage, J., *Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England*.

¹⁰ *Maryland Archives*, VII; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVI.

¹¹ Elizabeth Gary, whose mother was Judith Sharpe, married first, Robert Harwood. Wills, Lib. 2, fols. 89, 156, 354; Lib. 7, fol. 264.

¹² Rent Rolls; Wills, Lib. 11, fol. 175.

About 1890, Wenlocke's home was mentioned as being in a "dilapidated" condition.¹³ Today, the brick gable-end on the west has crumbled to dust, carrying with it one of the great chimneys and one of the staircases. The floors sag dangerously; in fact, the floor of the dining room has already departed into the yawning gulf of the cellar. The window sash, of the early "guillotine" variety, has been kicked in, and the ends of the roofing rafters on the south side of the house have so rotted away that the entire roof hangs tremulously suspended in air. The plaster has fallen from the crude hand-cut laths, and the doors of the house have been stripped from the hinges. At present, wrecked sofas and kerosene stoves and broken planks and parts of doors and pieces of scrap-iron litter the "greate" room. Such detail is presented only to show what the forgetfulness of the years can do to a house. If this dwelling *had lacked* an historical background, it should have warranted preservation on the sole ground of its "palisade" architecture in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. New England or Virginia would probably have cared for such a building as the heritage of the state, and possibly a Rockefeller would have bestowed on it the good fortune which the Rolfe House, or Smith's Fort Plantation, has recently received. And Thomas Rolfe was never a man as great as Wenlocke Christison.

Perhaps when Wenlocke took his last look through the little square bedroom window, the memory of his fantastic early life came back to mind. It is difficult to believe that he ever forgot the time when, on trial because of his Friends' ministry, he stood before Governor Endicott of Massachusetts, who called to him, "Wast thou not banished upon pain of death?" and his own answer, calm, steady, fearless, "Yea, I was. I refuse not to die." What could you do with a man like that? What could be done with one who would sooner suffer the gallows than take off his hat? Or who, on trial for his life, tried to prove that Massachusetts had forfeited the King's Patent, at the same time turning the charges of his accusers into accusations against themselves? The Boston punishments where the lashes of knotted ropes made holes in the body deep enough for peas to lie in were not enough to break the spirit of this man. Christison was one of those few whose spirit is invincible. The result was that the judges did not dare to put him to death.

The little grey cottage with the mossy roof, decaying by the sleepy river shore, is the last material monument of a man that Maryland will long remember. Whenever we think of him, we are reminded of this Province where for many years there was an ending of controversy, and men and women could worship and live in peace together.

¹³ Tilghman, *op. cit.*, I, 124.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF COMMODORE GEORGE NICHOLAS
HOLLINS, C. S. A.¹

I was born in or near the City of Baltimore on the 20th of September 1799. My Father was an Englishman—born in Manchester & came to the U. S. in about the year 1785/6. He entered into business in Baltimore where he married Miss Janet Smith, daughter of Mr. John Smith, who came to Baltimore in 1760, when this now prosperous city was but a small village. I was the fourth son—went to school for a few years in Baltimore, & at about the age of 10 years was sent to Virginia, to my Uncle's place in Albemarle Cy. Judge Carr my uncle by marriage had a school there, & there are now but five of those boys living. R. R. H., Peyton H., Robt. & Spear Nicholas. My education was very limited, like most boys I was fonder of play than of books and after remaining two or three years at school, I was sent for to Baltimore.

When I was about fourteen years old, Perry's great victory on the Lakes was the event of the day. Commodore Perry was visiting Baltimore, & entertained by many of the prominent citizens besides having had a grand Ball given in honor of his presence. He was entertained by my father & during his visit in my father's house I was called in & introduced to the gallant hero. My father asked him what kind of a midshipman I would make. The Commodore said, "he will make a first rate one, Sir. I entered the Navy just at his age"—My father, then said go and ask your Mother. I remember, so well, when I asked her she burst into tears & begged me not to go to sea. She had painful associations with the idea of any of her children going to sea, but a few years before, her second son William had been lost at sea, & her mother's heart shrank from trusting another one of her loved children to the treacherous element. She offered me a farm, anything, but I felt as if I were to be a man at once and my own Master, so I persisted and she finally gave a reluctant & tearful consent. The next day (if I remember aright—the application was made for a midshipman's warrant & by return mail I received my appointment, with orders to join the U. S. Sloop of War Erie, Commander Cha^s Goodwin Ridgely.—The orders were

¹ MS owned by Mr. H. Cavendish Darrell. The author was a son of John Hollins and a nephew of General Samuel Smith. He married in 1833 Maria Ridgely Sterett, daughter of General Joseph Sterett, of Surrey, on the Philadelphia Road, and after her death her sister, Louisa Sherlock Sterett, in 1859. He was a brother of Mayor Smith Hollins, for whom a street is named. Commodore Hollins, who died January 18, 1878, is the subject of a sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.



George Nicholas Hollins at age 16, miniature by an unknown artist, and his first wife, Maria Ridgely Sterett, miniature by Mary Jane Simes. Both are from the collection of Mr. H. Cavendish Darrell. Photos by Frick Art Reference Library.

for the Erie to go out on a cruise but the Chesapeake was blockaded by an English fleet under Admiral Cockburn. Not being able to get out to sea, the Erie was brought up to Baltimore & the ship laid up. Captain Ridgely & the officers were ordered up to Lake Ontario. I was sick & did not go. They doubtless thought a green young stu[?] of 14 no great loss to that squadron.

In August 1814, when the attack on Washington was anticipated Come Rogers being in command of the sailors & naval forces—I volunteered my services & was order'd to join the volunteer seamen—under Captain Rutter[?] of the Flotilla.—We marched to Washington, had a brush & retreated with the rest of the forces after the Battle of Bladensburg,—I then went back to the Erie (which was in ordinary) in Baltimore harbor.

There was I, a mere lad of fourteen in command (in reality) of a sloop of War & about a hundred seamen—for Capt. De la Roche who had had command took the two long guns & other volunteer men, & went up to Laudenslagers hill, East of the City—That was in preparation for meeting the British in their contemplated attack on Baltimore. The Erie was lying in the Basin, off Jackson's wharf, with springs on her cables to prevent the foe from coming up to the city in boats.

In December 1814 I was ordered to New York to join the U. S. Frigate President Commodore Stephen Decatur. On the 13th January 1815 we attempted to go to sea, but the pilot ran us ashore on the bar & we thumped there for two or three hours. The wind was blowing strong from the N. W. which prevented the return of the ship to N. Y. as she was seriously injured, & should have gone back for repairs. We could not as I stated return—nor could we remain where we were until morning as John Bull could have seen us from where he was; (outside) Blockading the Port.

At daylight, on the morning of the 14th we descried four sail, the nearest one fired at us, & we had a running fight all day—wetting the sails and lightening the ship by throwing everything overboard that we could, shot & guns, to expedite our speed, provisions, boats anchors—were thrown over, but notwithstanding all that they steadily gained on us. At 1½ past 4 o'Clock P. M. the leading ship, which proved to be the Endymion (H. B. M's) brought on the action. We still firing nothing but our stern chasers—The Endymion's superiority in sailing gave her the advantage of sheering & raking us, first one broadside & then the other was poured into us. We had all preparations made for boarding her in case she sheered close enough. After firing in that way for about five hours, she made a close sheer

& we attempted to board, but failed. The Com's idea & intention was, if possible, to board & capture this, the faster vessel, sink the President, & make his escape from the squadron, which had he succeeded in doing would have been an achievement worthy of that gallant & brave officer. When the Commodore called all hands & told them his intentions he remarked in conclusion " & we will leave them the ashes of the President to take care of—Now go to your quarters"—As I walked back I remarked to a midshipman belonging to the same division, " I shall never be able to climb aboard; a little fellow like me"—A huge fat old quartermaster, a captain of one of the guns in my division said " Never mind Mr. Hollins you hold on to my jacket & I'll take you aboard. We're not going to leave you here," which was rather consoling to one whose first day's experience of sea-going, was that sprightly days work.—

When the Endymion sheered so close, as I before stated we failed to board & our manoeuvre brought us broadside to broadside, & we fired into each other a tremendous fire for 15 or twenty minutes when the Endymion was so completely cut up that she fell entirely out of the fight, & we shaped our course again with our stern presented to her broadside & she never fired a gun. The wind was very light & we had killed it completely with the fight that gave the other vessels a chance of coming up to us.

Our division was called on deck, to repair the rigging, it was then about 1½ past ten P. M. As I walked aft to the wheel I saw a man lying on the deck, the light of the binnacle shining brightly upon him. He had been cut in two by a shot & with feelings of horror I stood looking at the poor fellow's remains,—when a hand was laid on my shoulder and a voice said " Young gentleman have you nothing else to do than to be looking at such things as that, go and attend to your duty"—I did not know at the time who spoke but I knew afterwards that it was Decatur himself."—

At or about 11 P. M. a fresh frigate the " Pomone " came up, & we commenced fighting. After fighting ten minutes another (the Tenedos), came up on the other quarter & opened fire on us. Then seeing there was no chance Commodore Decatur concluded to surrender. He stopped firing. The Englishman hailed " to know if we had surrendered. The Commodore replied " I surrender to the squadron,"—They either pretended to, or did misunderstand him, & gave us another broadside, while our men were standing defenceless about the deck. The Commodore seized the trumpet & called out his men, " To your quarters. I see they're bound to sink us, let us go down like men." Before *we* fired a gun—they again went through

the same form & inquiry. Commodore Decatur again replied "I surrender to the squadron"—They then lower'd their boats & came aboard. The *Endymion* was then almost hull down astern, altho' John Bull has always claimed that *she* whipped us.

We lost about 175 men & officers in killed & wounded. Three Lieutenants, Babbitt, Hamilton & Howard killed & one midshipman Dale (son of Capt. Dale who had been 1st Lieut of the *Bon Homme Richard*, Com. John Paul Jones) was wounded & died of his wound.

We were divided among the squadron & I was taken aboard the *Pomone* (formerly a French Frigate) & carried to the Island of Bermuda & paroled to the limits of the town of "Georgetown."

The midshipmen formed themselves into a mess—Some of the English merchants then behaved very handsomely, to me especially. A Mr. Bank who had known my father—sent for me, took me to his counting room, & gave directions to his clerk, to let me have any money I wanted. Mr. Musson also, made the same offer to any amount I might require—Conduct worthy of a generous foe.—Another gentleman offered us a very nice house in the country, stating however that it had the reputation of being haunted. But fifteen midshipmen were not likely to be overcome by terrors or fear of ghosts, & we gladly availed ourselves of his kind offer. Spirits there were, but not intangible ones, that house was haunted not with invisible spirits but with the exuberant & irrepressible spirits of youth & health. Ghosts if any, ever inhabited that abode, were surely driven off by the capers of those careless & happy youngsters—not one of whom remains at this date, Feb. 28th, 1866, but myself, Irving Shubrich, Robert B. Randolph (who attempted to pull Gen. Jackson's nose) Christopher Emmitt, nephew of the Irish Rebel of the same name) William Newman (poor Billy) ——— Brewster, Hunter, of Phila—afterwards lost on the *Epervier*, & those are all I can recall of those fifteen.

Peace had long before been made—but the news of the conditions & treaty had not reached Bermuda. We were there about two months, & a half & reached the U. S. the latter part of March 1815. We landed in Norfolk, Va. Capⁿ Fergusson long a popular Captain of steamboats on the Chesapeake, then commanded a packet schooner & gave me a free passage up to Baltimore which place we reached in four days after leaving Norfolk—

The following May Commodore Decatur sailed for the Mediterranean,* where he had been ordered in command of a squadron, consisting of 3 frigates, three Sloops of War, a Brig & two schooners

* I was ordered to the Commodore's ship, the *Guerrier*.

to put down the Algerins who had declared War against the U. S. while we were at war with England. After getting into the Mediterranean, off Cape de Gat on the Spanish Coast,—saw a Frigate with English colors flying. She was “laying hove to” evidently waiting for us to come up; never supposing the Americans had such a squadron as that in those waters, in closing up the Com^e made a signal to one of the squadron to go ahead—the Captain of one of the other vessels supposing the fight was to begin—hoisted the American colors—the Algerine, as he turn’d out to be, took the alarm, and was immediately in a cloud of canvass—having evidently been prepared for any emergency. We had everything secured for fight & it took some time for us to make sail. We kept up a running fight for about half an hour when she surrendered.

An officer & prize crew were put aboard & sent her into Malaga, Spain. That same night we captured an Algerine Brig—the Captain of which run her ashore, when he found our men chasing him. We sent her, also, into Malaga & proceeded to Algiers.

On arriving at Algiers, we made signal to the Swedish Consul—who came aboard. The Com^e consulted with him on the possibility or chances of getting commissioners to come off, & try if feasible to make peace. The Swedish Consul went back & brought the Commissioners (three Algerine officers) on board.

While the commissioners were debating and not at all inclined to accede to the Commodore’s terms, on the contrary opposing every proposition of his & cavilling at every offer, an Algerine vessel with a large sum of money on board, made her appearance in the harbor. The squadron gave chase. The Commodore informed the Com^{sns} & advised them to sign the treaty, otherwise he would capture the ship. The Algerines were expecting the ship, & flattered themselves that as they were under a flag of truce, in the Commodore’s ship, all were under a flag of truce as well, but Decatur said “Not so, only my vessel is so, the others are not & will capture the ship in less than half an hour.—They doubted the story of the capture of their frigate & Com^e Decatur sent for the Captain who was his prisoner on board, the Admiral having been killed in the fight. When the Captain entered the cabin & the highest officer saw him he rushed at him, seized him by the beard & was about to jerk him down to his feet when Decatur interfered & prevented it.

They however signed the treaty, at once. Com^e Decatur afterwards inquired of the Commissione[rs] “why they had gone to War with us?” the Algerins reply “that it was by the advice of the British Consul who said “we will take all their (the American) Men of

War & you can take the Merchant Ships," he continued & now instead of the result being, as they promised You (the Americans) have brought out, three of their (the English) ships, to whip us with, namely the Macedonian, the Guerrier & Epervier.

By the terms of the treaty, the Algerines were compelled to release every Christian prisoner whom they held as a slave, and also to promise they would make no more Christian slaves.

We then sail'd for Tripoli, to demand payment for prizes captured during the War. These prizes were English merchantmen captured by an American privateer & taken into Tripoli, & then seized by the Tripolitans. They were valued at about \$50,000. Decatur demanded the amount & gave them *one* hour in which to pay the sum. They had not the money nor could they raise that amt. so hurriedly in lieu of payment. Com^e Decatur compelled the Bashaw to liberate all the Christians he held as slaves, with the promise of never making any more Christian slaves & none have been made since. All those who were liberated he carried over & delivered them up to the King of Naples. Some of them had been prisoners 10 or 11 years. We then sailed for Tunis & made similar demands for repayment of prize money. they had no Christian prisoners. After fulfilling the object of his cruise the Com^e went to Gibraltar & from thence to the U. S. leaving Com^e Bainbridge in command of the Squadron.

On our arrival in New York I was detached, Nov. 1815. In January 1816, I was ordered to the Washington 74, Com^e Isaac Chauncey, Capt. John Ord Creighton, and a fiery ordeal it was for a youngster of 16 to face those two hard, old style disciplinarians. All hand were called at 4 A. M. to scrub the decks, or rather holy stone them, the water freezing before it fell to the decks. We had to go off at the same hour in launches for drinking water, from President Roads, & the Navy Yard Boston. It was most intensely cold & at that time midshipmen were not allowed to wear great coats on board nor to put their hands in their pockets. We would be gone until 11 o'clock A. M. & not one mouthful pass our lips, until our return to the ship. In all the time we were there, we were not allowed to go ashore. We were ordered to Annapolis to take Mr. Pinkney as minister to Naples. We were in despair & put our heads together to concoct some plan to have a little bit of a spree ashore before we left. After consultations & conferrings, it was decided that a certain number two or so from each mess should go to the Commodore and ask permission, to go ashore to purchase sea stores. After great solicitation & most earnest entreaty, old Chauncey gave us permission and allowed us to have the requisite money. Imagine our delight

at the prospect, such a brushing up & fixing, such gleeful anticipations as we indulged in, when all were ready we went ashore, in the forenoon. Our first thought was, the quere—what would yield the greatest amount of pleasure in a short time as we had to be back by sundown. So our first move was to charter a huge old fashioned two wheel gig apiece, six or eight of us, no riding two in a gig for us, but every man in his own equipage. As I said off we started, in procession & drove around the mighty hub of the Universe, & I *du guess* our Boston Puritans were overwhelmed with holy horror. After going in all directions we wheel'd into Cornhill, & the first sight that greeted our eyes was Commodore Chauncey. There we were dressed in full split-Uniform coats, cocked hats, white pants (cassimere) fitting tight as the skin—high top boots & tassels, every boy of us with a segar in his mouth laying back. each took off his hat, made a profound bow to the Commodore, & cut up his nag most vigorously that he might escape from the Commodore's sight as soon as possible.

The next morning the Commodore came aboard, & asked us if we had been laying in our sea stores in gigs. We were a jolly sett in those days, & altho' we were not graduates of the Naval School at Annapolis, we were good sailors & could reef a topsail or tack a ship, a good deal better than can be done now by "a many."

The following day we sailed for Annapolis, where we took Mr. Pinkney on board. We also took back that famous Band of Musicians that had been stolen from Naples by Com^e McNeal, in 1809. Some of the musicians were the Carusi's who returned to the U. S. & became music teachers & teachers of dancing in Washington & Baltimore. We of the Steerage mess enjoyed the stores we laid in, in that famous excursion to Boston & down Cornhill. Our coffee was made of burnt bread, and for the rest we had hard tack & salt beef or pork, for the rest of the trip to the Mediterranean. The suite of Mr. Pinkney consisted of Charles Oliver of Baltimore, & a Mr. Middleton of S. C., who was accompanied by his wife an Italian lady, of great beauty.

We cruised in the Meditⁿ for two years, 1817, 1818, when we were relieved by Franklin 74, Stewart Com^e—who brought out orders for me to join the Franklin. The squadron consisted of two 74s, 3 Frigates & four Sloops of War besides a Brig. Com^e Stewart then sailed with his whole squadron & showed ourselves to the Barbary Powers to inspire them with a wholesome awe. When off Algiers I left the Washington & joined the Franklin & the former started for home. Commodore Chauncey was famous for his good dinners &

excellent wines. As the Washington sail'd away Capt. Crane in command of the U. S. stood in the gangway & mournfully exclaimed Farewell to all good eating & drinking—but I'll go aboard the Commodore, & take a pinch of snuff once in awhile.—I was a mere lad but had a letter of credit on different houses in Gibralter, Naples & Leghorn. Mr. Purviance of Baltimore was a merchant in Leghorn & I was invited to dine with him. I think there must have been twenty courses & by the time dinner was half over, I was near bursting.

Having read in "A Rebel War Clerk's Diary" an account or rather slight mention of the St. Nicholas affair in which Col Zarvona as the "French Lady" is alone known the following account is written a[s] the true & correct statement of all that occurred—

I was in command of the U. S. Ship Susquehanna—at Naples—May 1861, when I received orders from the commodore of the squadron to proceed to New York and report to the Department at Washington—June 4, 1861. I arrived off New York & then, by the Dispatch Boat received orders to proceed to Boston. On reaching Boston Navy Yard, I reported my arrival to the Department & at the same time sent on my resignation, I never mentioned my intention of resigning not choosing to exercise, or even to do anything that might be construed into an effort to influence the officers under my command. That was on the 5th or 6th June. Not until the 12th did I receive an answer, & that was a "*dismissal*" from the service of the U. S. Government—& that, by a fellow who was splitting rails in the West while I had been serving my country.

We, for all my family were with me—except my oldest son Sterett, started the next day for Baltimore where I intended to leave the females of my family. I remained in Baltimore until Tuesday morning, the 18th June.

At the time I resigned in Boston, twelve officers resigned & eighty men made application to be discharged—One of the officers, Mr. W., had his resignation written & ready to be forwarded, but a letter from his grandfather J. J. Crittenden of Ky. stopped him, and he remained in the Service, & is there now for aught I know to the contrary. The day before I left Baltimore I met an old acquaintance in the Boarding house, & not having been accustomed to conceal my sentiments, I was adverting to my intentions of going south, when I received a warning *look* from a friend & an intimation that he was a Yankee consequently not to be trusted, so as I had in a measure committed

myself I thought I would at least mislead him, & after stating my plans etc I *confidentially dropped*, that I intended leaving by way of the B & O R Road, via Harpers Ferry for Virginia. Instead of doing so the next day I went by steamboat, the cars were stopped & searched for me, at the Relay House on the B & O R R—where there was a regular guard. In proof that they intended to arrest me at the very time the guards were looking for me, a Clerk in the Navy Dept. Washington told a friend of mine I had been captured.

At 6 o'Clock A. M. June 18, I left Baltimore on the Mary Washington a Steamboat running to the Patuxent.² On landing at one of the Landings on the river I went to the plantation of Mr. S. where I suggested the idea, (*which originated entirely with myself*) of seizing the St. Nicholas, a Boat running between Baltimore & Washington, & manning her with volunteers, & then to take the Pawnee a U. S. Steamer commanded by Yankee Ward, & which was a great annoyance to the boats on the Potomac.—I was told that the plan could not be carried out as there were so many Union men about, that it must certainly be discovered before it could be executed. Finding that I could not act there, I crossed the Potomac in an open boat pulled by four negroes, on reaching the Virginia side, I went to the residence of Dr. Howe [Hooe] about 20 miles from Fredericksburg. this place I reached at 1 A. M. this gentleman was a perfect stranger to me, but he received me kindly, entertained me handsomely, he & his charming family, so soon to be rendered houseless & homeless by the incendiary act of that vandal Captain Budd of the U. S. Gunboat—a name ever to be remembered, and desecrated as the insulter of unprotected females—firing into barns & houses & everything, but what might have been expected of an officer or a gentleman.

The same day Dr. Howe [Hooe] chartered a buggy, & drove me to Fredericksburg, where I arrived at 6 O'Clock in the afternoon. On registering my name at the Hotel a gentleman, Mr. Chew, introduced himself to me & insisted most kindly on taking me to his house, where he entertained me most handsomely & hospitably. Next morning I went to Richmond, in the cars. I immediately proceeded to the Navy Department & reported myself to the Secretary, & at once received my Commission as Captain in the Confederate States Navy.

After getting my position & Commission I went into the Bureau of Details where I met many of my old friends who had also resigned,

² This and the next seven paragraphs have appeared in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, 4: 553-555.

Barron, Maury, Lewis, Spotswood, & many others. In conversation in that office I suggested my plan of seizing the St. Nicholas & carrying out the scheme that had suggested itself to me at Col. S's—I was told that the Secretary, Mr. Mallory, would not agree to the plan but that the Governor (Letcher) would. I then remarked that I would obtain Mr. Mallory's permission to apply to the Governor. I walked into Mr. Mallory's room, & asked his permission, he granted it, & I at once went straight to the Governor's. When I made my proposition, Gov. Letcher, without a moments hesitation acceded to the proposal, & gave me a draft for \$1,000. to send North for arms, men, etc. He then & there introduced me to Col. Thomas of Maryland, alias, Zarvona, as person who could be trusted to go North & purchase arms or transact other business. That same afternoon I started off for Point Lookout, via Fredericksburg. After leaving F'burg I met my two sons who were on their way to Richmond, they joined me of course, that next ev[en]ing we recrossed the Potomac to the Maryland side, St. Mary's County, where I went to the house of a friend & remained until sundown. When I, my two sons & five men, started in a wagon, in a pouring rain, a nasty dirty night, for Point Lookout, where the St. Nicholas had to stop on her way to Washington. About an hour after our arrival at Pt Lookout, the St. Nicholas came to the Wharf. After reaching the Maryland side I signed the draft & Col. Thomas took the Patuxent Boat, & went on to Baltimore & Philadelphia to purchase the arms etc. I had directed him to get arms & return down the Bay in the St. Nicholas—& get as many men to join him as he could. I also stated to him that I should join him at Point Lookout. On the arrival of the St. N—at Point Lookout at 12 Midnight, I went on board with my party. I saw Col. Thomas dressed as a woman to avoid suspicion, as he had high large trunks such as milliners & such like travel with, they contained arms & ammunition. I told Col. T. to hold himself in readiness as soon as we cleared the wharf, we would take the steamer. In a few minutes we left the wharf—and I soon made the appointed signal the trunks were thrown open the men seized the arms I took a musket or rather a Sharp's Rifle, & pair of pistols, ran up to the wheelhouse put my hand on the Captain's shoulder & told him I had captured his boat—& ordered him to take the boat over to Cone River, but he declined saying he was no pilot—I told him I knew he was a pilot & that if he did not pilot me over I would set fire to the boat & land all my men in his boats as I was determined she should not fall into the hands of the enemy. I learned since that the Captain became so uneasy that another man piloted her over.

About an hour after my arrival at Cone river landing a body of Confederate soldiers & sailors came down to assist me, the soldiers commanded by Capt. Lewis.

I then read the Baltimore morning papers, & ascertained that Captain Ward had been killed while making an attack on Matthias Pt. & all the Gunboats had left the River & had gone up to Washington to the funeral.

There were several passengers on board, but I landed them & gave permission to all who wished to return to Balto to do so. Few returned, as all nearly were on their way South & although it was Sunday the ladies amused themselves by making Confederate flags, out of the Yankee flags I had captured.

Finding there was no chance of capturing the Pawnee—and deeming it unsafe to remain where I was, in a steamer without guns, I resolved to go up to Fredericksburg, & immediately ran out in the Chesapeake Bay. I saw a fine Brig ran alongside of her. She proved to be the Brig Monticello, from Rio, loaded with coffee & bound to Baltimore. I merely captured her, taking the crew on board the St. Nicholas & leaving the Captⁿ & his wife on board as I did not wish to terrify the lady or to render her uncomfortable. I put Lt. Robert Minor on board, with orders to take the Brig to Fredericksburg. The Coffee, a full cargo, was a great treat to our "boys in grey"—who were already beginning to endure some of the many privations that made them in later days truly an army of martyrs. In an hour or less I captured a schooner from Boston, loaded with Ice, & bound to Washington. I placed an officer & prize crew on board & dispatched her also to Fredericksburg. The Ice just got there in time for the wounded & sick in the Hospitals were suffering for the want of it. The ice was sold at auction & the Yankee Captain of the Schooner attended the sale, & seeing the fine price paid for the Ice, he came to me & proposed that he should go to Boston, get another vessel loaded with ice bring her down & let me know precisely where to meet him that I might capture him take the vessel to Fredsb^g sell the Ice & *divide the proceeds*.*

He had a splendid Flag of a 74, an Ensign that he had borrowed from the Navy Yard, Boston, to hoist on the occasion of Douglas's death, but of that same ensign a goodly number of Secession flags were made.

I next captured another schooner, from Baltimore, loaded with coal, bound to Boston, a most fortunate prize, as I was on my last bucket of coal on the St. Nicholas. I filled up as I went along, as

* Would any one but a Yankee have been guilty of such rascality.

I began to feel a little fearful that some of the gunboats might be after me, so we went up to Fredericksburg, I towing my prize. we reached there safely. The Govt bought the St. Nicholas for about 45,000, & turned her into a gunboat. The coffee sold very well, but as she was a Baltimore vessel & owned by a gentleman of that city the govt ascertained the price of coffee in Balto & paid Messrs. Spence & Reid 12c a lb. & sold it at 25 or 30c in Richmond, the vessel was returned to the owners.

I then went to Richmond and was ordered to the command of Fortifications on the James River, after having been there for some time & knowing I was not competent to build long shore fortifications, whatever, other Navy officers might have been, I applied for other duty more in the line of my profession, and was ordered to take command of the Station at New Orleans with the rank of Commodore.

I left Richmond early in August 1861, for New Orleans. On my arrival I found nothing there, nothing done towards putting the place in a state of defence. No money, no powder & but a few small guns, 24 pounders—& no boats. For two months I fruitlessly endeavoured to get money from the Navy Department at Richmond. Widows & women, whose husbands were in the Army, & labourers, calling daily on me for money as I gave them all the work I could. I had been writing urgently for money or permission to buy powder & their answers limited the prices, so low, that not a pound could be got at their rates. I then sent an agent to the Govt of Tennessee, for powder, & he sent a quantity but instead of consigning it to me it was delivered to the Commanding Genl. I could learn nothing of it and months afterwards I learned the Army had it. About this time I learned that the Yankees were coming up the passes. I had no means of defending the river. I had no boats, no powder, nor anything else. I bought on my own responsibility 4 flat boats or broadhorns as they are called, loaded them with light-wood knots, & seized three river steamboats, & an iron-clad steamer that was built *by the merchants*, (an old Yankee brig, captured in the beginning of the War—her masts taken out, fitted out and covered with iron plates) & proceeded down the river. The Manassas was the name of the iron-clad, or nicknamed the "Turtle," also the M'Rea, the last was a merchant steamer fitted out to go to sea as a cruiser, but never succeeded in getting out of the River. She was commanded by that brave & gallant officer, Capt. Tom Huger who was killed afterwards in defending New Orleans, when attacked by Farragut. Huger . . . [not completed]

On the night of the 12th Oct. 1861 I started down the River on board the Calhoun (a tow boat one 24 pounder) with my great fleet consisting of the M'Crea seven guns—Capt. Huger—the Ivy Fashein[?] one gun—Capt. Fry—The Jackson, one gun, Capt. Gwathmey, the Manassas, 1 gun Capt. Warley. We proceeded down the River until we came near to where I supposed the Yankee squadron was, reaching there at 2 o'clock in the morning. I started the Manassas or Turtle iron-clad, Capt. Warley—with orders to strike the first vessel he came to, when he struck her to make a signal by throwing up a rocket. He fulfilled my orders & when I saw the signal, having the four flat boats in tow the two steamers, one on each side of the towing steamer, I had placed chains from the bows of the two barges so that when the steamers struck the enemy's ships the flat boats would swing round, by the force of the tide & laying on each side, set her on fire & completely destroy her, but at the attack of the Turtle (& Capt Warley always asserted most positively that he sunk one) the Yankee fleet ran, Why! only the Yankee Commodore can explain, as we had but twelve small guns. He had 12 guns on board the Richmond, the Vincennes 22 guns—the Preble 18 guns & Water Witch seven 7, in all fifty-nine against 12 guns & a few flat boats. They had 700 men & we perhaps 100, the odds certainly not in our favor.

All the Yankee boats started and got out to sea excepting the Vincennes & Richmond, they hung on the Bar. I then made an attack on them at long shot, I could not go nearer my boats were wooden river boats, Boilers on deck—& was getting short of powder—so taking all these things in consideration I deemed it most judicious to return to New Orleans as I had only what powder I had borrowed from the Army, & that nearly expended—The pilot saying that the wind being at N. W. the vessels could not get off for two days. The Yankee Capt. Pope certainly did not like his proximity to Confederate lightwood—

The whole squadron excepting one to guard the mouth of the river returned to New Orleans.

In January I think I was ordered up the river for what I never could find out, I wrote several times most urgently to Mr. Mallory telling him that I was of no earthly use up there, that the danger to New Orleans was from the Gulf side & I could not see the use of Gunboats fighting Cavalry, they had only to fall back out of reach of my guns—In the dark night they could steal down & make an attack, as our pipes & smoke stacks were simply targets, & nothing more. Under cover of the woods we could not see them—while

they could see us. Their gunboats never getting ahead of the army, which went down on both sides of the river, & we had to pass their fortifications as we went down. Pope had 25000 men & M'Cowan only 3000, so they attacked M'Cowan's men drove them back and built forts below us & we had to run the gauntlet of the forts below us,—At last we went to Fort Pillow & while there I received a Telegram, from New Orleans, telling me the enemy were crossing the Bar & urging me to come back to New Orleans. I complied & telegraphed Mr. Mallory that I had done so, at the earnest request of the Commander of the Station Whittle. I had taken a small gunboat down with me & the next day, I was telegraphed to transfer the command to the next or second in command, & proceed to Richmond. Gov. Moore of Louisiana & General Lovell both telegraphed immediately to President Davis, begging him to permit me to bring down my squadron, & carry out my plans for the defense of the City, No reply—& I proceeded to Richmond—

and here let me say—that I have never wavered in my opinion. I thought then—I am under a firm conviction still—that had I been permitted to carry out my plans Farragut would *never* have got to New Orleans from the Passes. In the poor miserable little boats I had, I had passed so many Forts, that I believe Farragut could have passed the two Forts with ease, & he with every adjunct & requisite of first class ships My boats as a friend said were “not gunboats but boats with guns on them.” Nor would Beast Butler have got them & have had the pleasure of wearing Genl. Twiggs' sword presented by Congress for his gallant conduct in Mexico, & which Beast B. either stole, or had it presented to him by his equally righteous friends the Congress.

I must here say that the whole course of Mr. Mallory with reference to New Orleans, & her defenses, was utterly & entirely unaccountable to me. While I was in command of the station, Mr. Mallory sent two civilians, one said to be a connexion, to build the finest gunboat that could be built. These men were authorized to build, none of the accounts were to be presented to me for approval, & how much she cost no one knows, nor ever will, & this magnificent vessel was launched & burnt *after I left New Orleans*. The fall of New Orleans was a dreadful blow to the Confederacy—one that I think, nay I am certain, might have been avoided. One of the mysteries that will be buried with the blighted hopes, disappointments & the dead brave of the subjugated, crushed & ruined South.

& yet I believe many, yes all our misfortunes might have been averted by a different ordering of affairs at Richmond. When I

recall the sacrifices of the many gallant officers who fell at New Orleans I feel ready to cry aloud. Poor McIntosh, who remonstrated against going down to attack Farragut in an unfinished gunboat, until he said "To say more, will make people think I am personally afraid, I will go, but I go to my death." He did go, both legs were shot off, his back broken & who can portray his agonised suffering.—And gallant heroic Huger, in command of the M'Crea, he was mortally shot, but lived long enough to be carried up to his home, where his dying cry was for Com^e Hollins, Where is he? why don't he come?—

A brave officer & a gentleman, dying so uselessly, leaving his little orphaned children & all for what—because of the ignorance to use the mildest terms of an ill appointed Secretary of the Navy. One of Mr. Jefferson Davis' pet Yankees—I wonder what Mr. Mallory is living on in Europe, where gold is the medium of circulation, & people, honest Confederates, are starving at home. After I went to Richmond and all of us old Regular officers were safe, swaddled up and put on the shelf—about once a month I applied for active service. At last the Bureau of Detail, ordered me to Charlotte, N. C. but the Secy countermanded the order, alleging as a reason that it was not a command for one of my rank, all false and untrue. Com^e French Forrest was indignant when he heard the order had been rescinded but as he was also doomed to make way for the pet provisional Navy, his remonstrances, if he made them, but expedited his own downfall. What was the Provisional Navy?—Echo answers what—

In the following December,³ I was order[ed] to Columbus Kentucky to cooperate with the Army under Genl. Polk. I proceeded with three wooden gunboats, one carrying 7 guns (one 32 pounder & 6 eighteen pounders) the other two each carrying one 11 inch gun. I was sent up as I said before to cooperate with the Army & to be with them in case they needed transportation across the river. I suggested to the Genl. Commdg that he should send men up on each side of the river to attack any Forts that might have been there, & in the event of being successful I should then have endeavored to have reached Cairo, where I understood there were several gunboats loaded with ammunition & stores. Genl Polk, not coinciding with my views. I then went up the river on a tour of inspection. While going up, perhaps within ten miles of Cairo, at a bend of

³ This is preceded by a short description of Hollins' activities at Columbus, Kentucky, omitted because, evidently unsatisfactory to the author, it was expanded into the account here given.

the river, we were fired into by a Fort. I silenced the Fort, but knowing that if I passed it & proceeded the Yankees could immediately return & cut off my retreat to our own men, & having but a small force I would not run the risk but, determined to proceed no further, & went back to Columbus. During the whole trip I never saw any Yankee gunboats, at all.

After remaining at Columbus for some weeks, I was ordered back to N Orleans & remained there a short time, and was from there [not completed]

From this time on throughout all the rest of the War, I was never allowed to have an active command, notwithstanding I made repeated, and repeated, application to the Sec. of the Navy for such, and I must say his failure to do me justice in this respect will always remain incomprehensible to me.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON'S LETTER DESCRIBING THE BATTLE OF BALTIMORE

Among the papers of the late John T. Scharf in the Johns Hopkins University library Dr. W. Stull Holt recently found the following letter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, evidently written to Levin Winder, then governor of Maryland. This fortunately helps to fill the gap in Carroll's correspondence from August to the end of October 1814 as noted in Miss Rowland's biography of the Signer. Carroll's references to his daughter, Mrs. Harper, wife of General Robert Goodloe Harper, suggest that she was with him in the country, doubtless at Doughoregan Manor.

Wednesday morning 14th Sep^r 1814

Dear Sir/

I rec'd yesterday evening about 8 o'clock the enclosed letter. I had broken open the seal hastily thinking it was addre/ssed to me, when M^{rs} Harper told me it was for you.

I know not a word of its contents. I also got a letter from Mr. Harper dated 5 o'clock yesterday evening from wh I give you some extracts.

"Stricker's brigade was posted down in the neck to oppose the approach of the enemy; soon after my arrival a strong party was detached in front under Major Heath to reconoitre I went with them & acted as adjutant; we soon met the advance of the enemy & had a very smart skirmish in wh I was much exposed but not touched; we returned after some lo/s & regained our main body wh was very well posted; the main body of the enemy soon appeared in front & after manœuvring for nearly 3 hours in our front to gain a position attacked us in line. Part of our troops stood very well & gave them a heavy & well directed fire, but one regiment composed of the precincts men broke before they could give or receive a fire & fled in confusion the rout soon became general; our lo/s in killed is stated to be about 30, and upwards of 100 wounded; some part rallied & retreated to camp in good order & many straggled into town. I was in the whole of the fire wh was brisk & hot, but received not a touch & when I retired I brought off a wounded man behind me; the enemy did not pursue far but advanced after the action to within five miles of the town where they encamped for the night."

Mr. Harper writes that it was expected that the enemy would have attacked them early (yesterday morning) but had not taken place at the date of his letter; he thinks general Ro/s suffered considerably on the 12th & seems now to be very cautious.

Yesterday morning early they began to bombard the Fort; many shells were thrown into the works, but as yet (date of Harper's letter) none killed, but several were wounded. Armistead has now put his men under cover; no impre/sion has been made on the fort.

"General Ro/s either intends to wait the effect of the attack on the fort, or to get as near to us as he can this afternoon (13th) & make a night

attack; if neither of these be his plan, we shall have him upon us this afternoon, & in that case, as he must take us in front & be exposed to our batteries I think we have a good chance to beat him; if he risks a night attack he will succeed because we can derive no aid from our artillery."

Major Heath had 2 horses shot under him & a ball through his hat. J^s H. M'Culloch the collector had his thigh broken; Lowry Donaldson the lawyer & Findley the chair maker is killed.

"Thus we stand now with force enough to destroy general Ro/s, if it could be relied on, but there lies the difficulty.

"General Ross has not yet (5 o'clock P. M.) advanced beyond his position of the forenoon wh is at Herring run on the Ph^a road about 4 miles from Baltimore; the bombardment of the fort is going on briskly."

I have th[?]reing extracted the material parts of M^r Harper's letter thinking they may give you some particulars you may not have learned from other sources. On the back of y^r letter in pencil letters by M^r Caton it seems 68 vef/sels pa/sed Annapolis yesterday morning bound up the Bay—probably these vessels bring reinforcements & provisions. If a large body of militia could be thrown in the rear of gen. Ro/s to interrupt his communication with the fleet, I think he would be compelled to abandon his attack on Baltimore.

I inclose the Telegraph of the 11th containing admiral Cochrane's letter to Monroe & Monroe's answer wh perhaps you have not seen.

I remain with sentiments of great respect & sincere regard

Dear Sir

Y^r most hum. Serv^t

Ch. Carroll of Carrollton

Be pleased to present my respects to the gentlemen of y^r council. Much heavy firing of heavy canon was heard here last night till 11 o'clock probably agt the fort. I have not heard of any attack being made last night by the enemy on our lines.

C. C. of C.

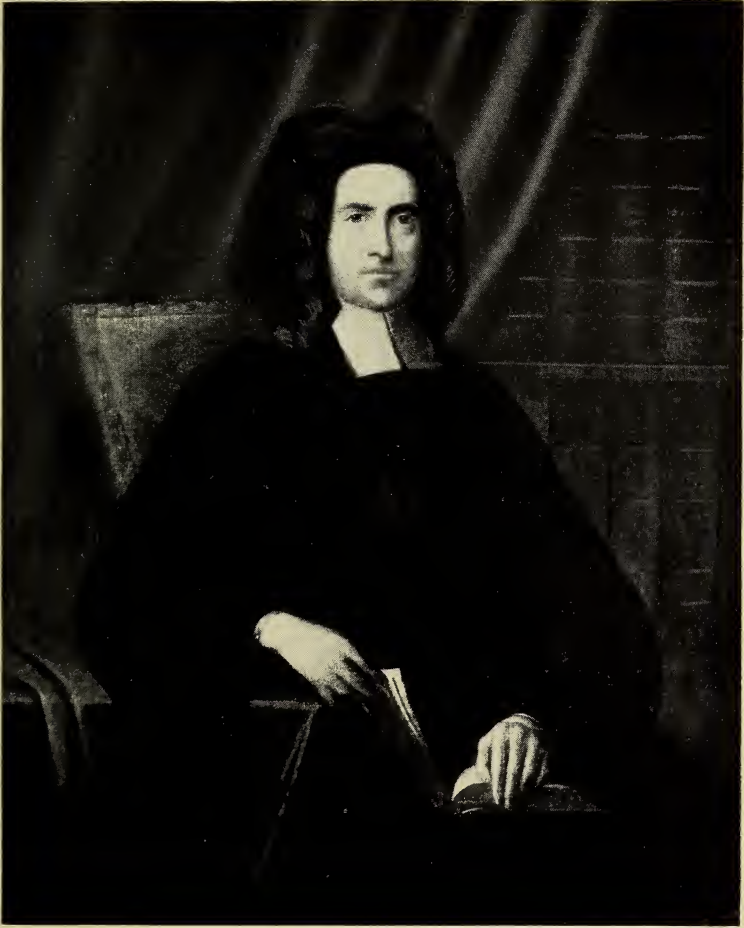
THOMAS BRAY AND THE MARYLAND PAROCHIAL LIBRARIES

By JOSEPH TOWNE WHEELER

Probably the most significant contribution of any individual to the literary culture of colonial Maryland was that made by the Reverend Thomas Bray at the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹ Through his remarkable energy and devotion to the idea of strengthening the Established Church in Maryland by books, at least twenty-nine parochial libraries for the clergy, eleven laymen's lending libraries and one provincial library were given to the province by charitable people in England, and were permanently protected against loss by laws passed by the colonial assembly.

This ambitious plan for improving the clergy in the plantations and at home by providing them with collections of theological books was apparently developed by Bray from his own experience as a poor curate. He was born at Marton, a small town in Shropshire, in 1656, and was sent by his family to a grammar school at Oswestry. He did well in his studies and matriculated at Hart-Hall in Oxford on March 12, 1674/5. Before he received his degree, he was forced by lack of funds to leave college, but he was later graduated from All Souls' College and some years afterward was granted the degree of Doctor of Divinity by Magdalen College. After leaving college he took orders and became a curate of a county parish near Bridgeworth in Shropshire. The idea of providing parochial and lending libraries for poor clergymen probably first occurred to him at this time because of the difficulty of purchasing or borrowing the books he needed to continue his studies. Many years later in the preface to *An Account of the Life of the Reverend Mr. John Rawlet* (1728) he told more specifically of the origin of the plan:

¹ The activities of the Rev. Thomas Bray, especially in so far as they related to the American colonies, have been the subject of several studies. Dr. Bernard C. Steiner contributed: "Rev. Thomas Bray and his American Libraries," *American Historical Review*, II (1896), 59-75; "Two Eighteenth Century Missionary Plans," *Sewanee Review*, XI (1903), 289-305; *Rev. Thomas Bray, His Life and Selected Works Relating to Maryland* (Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication 37, 1901), 1-252. Austin B. Keep discussed the Bray libraries in New York in *History of the New York Society Library*, N. Y., 1908. Verner W. Crane showed Bray's relation to the founding of Georgia in *The Southern Frontier*, Durham, 1928. *The Dictionary of National Biography* and *Dictionary of American Biography* contain good short biographies but a full length account is needed. This and the next article in this series are based upon Dr. Bray's manuscript accounts in the Sion College Library and other papers which were not available when Dr. Steiner's article on the Bray libraries was published.



REVEREND THOMAS BRAY, D. D., 1656-1730.

From the portrait owned by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in
Foreign Parts, London.

On being desired by the Relations of a Neighbouring Clergyman then lately Deceas'd, to look over his Books in Order to their Sale, it was surprising to find him so poorly furnished therewith . . . I found, that whilst Living, he enjoy'd the Use of Two very Considerable Libraries in his Parish . . . It was but Natural on such occasion to Reflect, as on the one Hand, on the Impossibility of many Thousand Vicars and Curates, their enjoying such an Advantage . . . So on the other, the utter Impossibility they should be able to furnish themselves therewith. . . . Upon this Observation and Reflection indeed, was found something of a Plan of making such Provision both of *Parochial* and *Lending Libraries*, before I became acquainted with Mr. *Rawlett's*, and the same was Communicated to such of our Neighbouring Brethren, as were sensible of the Value of Books, who approv'd the Design, and wish'd it a good Success . . .²

The John Rawlet of whom Bray wrote was the author of the popular *Christian Monitor*, an essay on preparation for death, which went through many editions at the close of the seventeenth century. Rawlet too had begun his career as a poor clergyman and during his lifetime had gathered a collection of books which he left with most of his property to his native town of Tamworth in Stafford. Bray lived in the neighboring county and made use of the collection. As he later wrote, ". . . indeed it was usual for some of us to Ride even Ten Miles to Borrow out of it the Book we had Occasion for."³

Not until several years later did he have an opportunity to put his ideas into practice. In the meantime he rose from the humble position of a county curate to that of chaplain to Sir Thomas Price and later to Lord Digby. While in the employ of Digby, he wrote his *Catechetical Lectures* which were published in 1696. The first edition of 3000 copies was sold within a year and he cleared over £700 from the sale of this popular devotional book. One of the editions was prepared:

More especially designed to be read in the plantations instead of homilies or sermons, whereas there is either no minister to officiate or where the people are at so great a distance from the churches as not to be able to enjoy the benefit of the ordinary preaching and catechising.⁴

Copies of this book were usually included in the parochial and lending libraries and some were sent to clergymen in the colonies for free distribution among their more educated parishioners.

As was, and still is, the case among clergymen, the publication of a book often means more in establishing a reputation than the steady and conscientious fulfillment of the everyday duties of the ministry. In justice to Bray mention should be made of the less

² B. C. Steiner, *American Historical Review*, 2 (1896), 61-62.

³ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁴ Title page of third edition. London, 1701.

spectacular part of his career as a clergyman, to which Ralph Thoresby referred in his *Diary* many years later:

May 15, 1723: Walked to the pious and charitable Dr. Bray's, at Aldgate; was extremely pleased with his many pious, charitable and useful objects . . . May 21, 1723: At Dr. Bray's church the charity children were catechised. Prodigious pains so aged a person takes; he is very mortified to the world; takes abundant pains to have a new church, though he would lose 100£ per annum.⁵

But even before the publication of the *Catechetical Lectures*, Henry Compton, Bishop of London, had detected his worth and ability and selected him to organize and regulate the newly established church in Maryland. The position he was offered was an important one to himself and to the colonies although it meant a financial sacrifice to accept it. One of the first acts of the Protestant Party in Maryland after the reverberations of the Revolution of 1688 were felt was to subdivide the counties into parishes and to establish the Anglican Church with an annual poll tax of forty pounds of tobacco for the support of the clergy. The provisions of the law were not enforced, and when Colonel Francis Nicholson became Governor in 1694, the Assembly passed two supplementary acts which, together with the Act of Establishment, were annulled by the King in Council in 1696 because of legal technicalities.⁶ Bray's first duties were to encourage clergymen to go to the colony and later, when the laws were set aside, to propose new legislation and to see that it was acceptable to the King in Council.

Bray accepted the position in 1695 on the condition that the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury would ". . . encourage & assist him in providing Parochial Libraries for the Ministers who shou'd be sent . . ." ⁷ He realized from the start that the only way he could induce clergymen to undertake the long years of isolation

⁵ Ralph Thoresby, *Diary*, edited by Joseph Hunter. Quoted in J. H. Overton, *Life in the English Church* (1660-1714), London, 1885.

⁶ For a full discussion of the controversy over the Act of Establishment and the subsequent legislation in Maryland see J. W. Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*, Baltimore, 1913, and Percy G. Skirven, *The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1923.

⁷ Steiner, *Rev. Thomas Bray*, 16. "The Short Historical Account of the Life and Designs of Thomas Bray, D. D.," attributed to Richard Rawlinson by Dr. Steiner, was rewritten from the biographical sketch of Bray by "a Member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" who has been identified as Samuel Smith, the author of *Publick Spirit illustrated in the Life and Designs of Dr. Bray* (London, 1748 and 1808). Among the papers bequeathed to Sion College Library by Bray and now available in photostats at the Library of Congress are two drafts of a memorial entitled "A Memorial representing the Rise Progress and Issue of Dr. Bray's Missionary Undertaking," the first of which is a rough draft written in the first person and subsequently edited to read in the third person. It is likely that this rough draft which forms the main source of information about Bray was written by him sometime in 1704 or 1705.

in the pioneer colony where they were shut off from the opportunities for intellectual development was to provide libraries for them. Once conceived, the project for parochial libraries in Maryland soon proved so excellent an idea that it was expanded to include all the English speaking plantations and, later, lending libraries for English towns and seaports.⁸

Soon after his appointment he drew up a prospectus for establishing parochial libraries. This, the earliest known printed document in which he set forth his plans for sending libraries to the colonies, was first published in December, 1695. In his Accounts he gives a list of the number of editions, impressions and copies of this cornerstone on which the famous Venerable Societies were later erected:

An Account of Charges in printing Proposals⁹

		£	s	d
Dec: 95	Maryland proposals Composed in small pica ½ Sheets Do Very much afterwards Altered with Additions to make it a whole sheet and several times wrought.	0	10	0
Jan: 95/6	1 Quire Do Several great Alterations being made.	0	10	0
March 96	4 Quires Do at two several times.	0	6	0
June 96	500 Do y ^e fforms being Standing.	0	6	0
Oct: 96	The Proposals Recomposed and Several times wrought Do more 250 wrought.	1	4	0
Jan 96	Ditto Recomposed anew it being fallen asunder with lying by so long. Twice wrought.	0	4	0
July	Ditto more 500.	0	6	0
Aug 97	Recomposed again and 1 Quire wrought.	1	0	0
	Ditto: 750 more wrought off at several times.	0	9	0
	Ditto for ye Religious Societies 500.	0	6	0
	Ditto more 500.	0	6	0
	Do more 500.	0	6	0
Jan 97/8	Do Recomposed anew and 1000 wrought at several Times.	3	4	0
		11	6	0

⁸ Bray's proposals for the establishment of parochial libraries in the colonies apparently influenced the Rev. James Kirkwood to undertake a similar project in Scotland. In 1699, he anonymously published *An Overture for Founding and Maintaining Bibliotheks in every Paroch throughout the Kingdom* in which he made the novel proposal that each minister should turn his library over to the parish as a nucleus to be supplemented by books purchased or printed from a special fund raised by a general tax. Encouraged by his success in providing three thousand copies of the Bible for distribution among the poverty stricken Highlanders, he proposed that a Scotch printing press be established to reprint books desired by the various libraries. Needless to say, his ambitious plans were not carried out but at least one library was started by him. His two tracts were printed in 1906 by A. C. McClurg, edited by John Cotton Dana, as volume IV of *Literature of Libraries in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.

⁹ Accounts of Dr. Bray in Manuscripts of Dr. Bray's Associates. S. P. G. Library of Congress transcripts. For a fuller discussion of the importance of this document in the

Over five thousand copies of this document were printed and distributed to solicit funds for libraries to be sent to Maryland.¹⁰ The four page prospectus in its final form contained *Proposals for the Encouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations and The Present State of the Protestant Religion in Maryland*. The short account of the newly established church in Maryland was written by Sir Thomas Lawrence, Secretary to the Colony.

In the third edition, the earliest of which a copy is known, the first proposal was, "That the Lord Bishop of London be pleas'd to make a catalogue of what particular Books his Lordship shall judge most immediately and necessarily Useful . . ." In the later editions this was changed to, "That a catalogue being [sic] made of what particular Books shall be judged most immediately and necessarily Useful for a Parochial Minister . . ." The change in the wording was a result of the fact that Bray had taken over the preparation of the catalogue. However the Bishop of London was not entirely pleased with Bray's preliminary draft of the *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, as the catalogue was later known. In writing to Colonel Francis Nicholson on January 5, 1695/6, about the condition of the Church in Maryland, the Bishop said:

What y^r Commissary will do, I cannot tell: but I do by no means like his Catalogue of bookes. I hope to have a better drawn up very suddainly. In y^e mean time you will do well to consider what sort of Act you will make for his establishment.¹¹

The first edition of the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* was published early in the Spring of 1697.¹² It contains a classification of the various fields of theology showing the subjects which should be studied by the clergy and recommending the books to be read. Bray gave away four hundred and fifty copies of the catalogue to interested persons in order to get them to subscribe money for the libraries.¹³ The book

history of the religious societies see *Annual Report 1933-1934* of John Carter Brown Library, pp. 12-16. A comparison of Dr. Bray's accounts with the conclusions reached by Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth from a careful examination of the printed copies of the *Proposals* before the existence of the accounts was known affords an interesting demonstration of the value of the "Bibliographical Way." See John W. Garrett, "Seventeenth Century Books Relating to Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIV (1939), 33-34. Number 87 a-i.

¹⁰ There were at least ten distinct editions of this document, copies of six of which are known to have survived.

¹¹ S. P. G. Misc. unbound documents. Library of Congress transcripts.

¹² Listed in the Hilary Term Catalogue for February 1697. Arber, *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709*, III, 2.

¹³ Dr. Bray's Accounts b, page 30. Library of Congress transcripts.

PROPOSALS

For the Incouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations; And to Induce such of the Clergy of this Kingdom, as are Persons of Sobriety and Abilities, to accept of a Mission into those Parts.

WHEREAS the Propagation of the Christian Faith, and the Increase of Divine Knowledge, amongst all sorts of Persons in His Majesty's Foreign Plantations, are the Wishes, Desires, and Prayers, of all Pious and Serious Christians, and such as are zealous of God's Glory, and the Salvation of Mens Souls. AND WHEREAS that Blessed Work, next under God, does principally depend upon the Abilities of the Clergy in those Parts, the Exemplariness of their Lives, and their Industry in Teaching others; WHEREAS ALSO the Clergy, that are already in the Plantations, as well as those who are to be sent thither, cannot (Humanly speaking) be so capable of Informing themselves, and of Instructing others in the design of Christianity, in the Nature of the Covenant of Grace, in the Meaning and Importance of the Articles of our most Holy Faith, and in the Nature and Extent of all Christian Duties, without the Assistance of some good Commentators upon the Holy Scriptures; and one, at least, or more of those Authors, who have best treated upon each, and every of those Points. WHEREAS ALSO for the Supply of that Want, Men of Parts and addicted to Study, will hardly be induced to leave the Expectations they may have of better Encouragement and Improvement in their Native Country, to go to remote Parts and Climates less agreeable, without such Advantages, as will over-balance all Considerations inclining them to stay at home; and, especially, not without a competent Provision of such Books, as are necessary for their Studies in those Places where they are to serve: Few of them that go over from hence, being able to furnish themselves with so many Books as they shall need. AND, LASTLY, WHEREAS Insufficiency and Scandal in the Clergy of those places, in all probability, would be most successfully prevented, both in this and future Ages, should every Parochial Minister in the Plantations have a sufficient Library of well-chosen Books, of all those kinds before-mentioned, in which he might spend his time to his own Satisfaction, and with Improvement and Profit to himself and others.

TO PROMOTE THEREFORE so Blessed and Noble an End, as the propagation of Christian Knowledge in those Parts; and as well to encourage those who are there already employed in the Ministry, as also to invite other able Ministers over, and to furnish both, with proper Means for accomplishing so good a Work. IT IS HUMBLY offered to all that are hearty Well-wishers to the Souls of Men, and the Honour of their Saviour, to consider, and as they shall see Cause to favour these Proposals following.

1. THAT the Lord Bishop of *London* be pleas'd to make a Catalogue of what particular Books his Lordship shall judge most immediately and necessarily Useful, to make up a sufficient Library to a Parochial Minister in any Plantation, wherewith he may be sufficiently enabled both to Inform himself, and to Instruct others, in all the Necessary and Essential parts of Christianity.

2. THAT so many of such Libraries be sent by the Lord Bishop of *London*, by the hands of such as his Lordship shall Commission for that purpose, to be Appropriated and Affixed, one to each Parish in the Foreign Plantations, particularly those of *Mary-Land* and *Virginia*; and farther as the Fund to be raised shall enable.

3. THAT every Parochial Library shall be affixed in a decent and large Room of the Parsonage-House of such Parish, there to remain to the sole Use of the Minister thereof for the time being, unto all future Generations, and to be as UNALIENABLE as any other the Rights and Dues of the Church, which are Ascertained by Law.

4. THAT

BRAY'S PROSPECTUS FOR ESTABLISHING PAROCHIAL LIBRARIES.

The Earliest Known Copy, Printed in October, 1696.

(Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library.)

was later thoroughly revised and the first volume of a second edition was published in 1707. The second volume was never published. The *Bibliotheca Parochialis* is one of the earliest combined bibliographies and syllabi of theology published in England.

In order to avoid the criticism that charity should begin at home, Bray extended the plan of parochial libraries to include lending libraries in the English towns and market places. Shortly after the appearance of the first edition of *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, he published his *Essay Towards Promoting all Necessary and useful Knowledge* containing an exposition of the idea of lending libraries in England with a list of the first sixty-three titles suggested for purchase.¹⁴ While more than half the volumes were theological works, there were among others: Puffendorf's *Introduction to the History of Europe*; Mazaray's *History of France*; Sir R. Baker's *Chronicle of the Kings of England*; Dr. Gibson's *Anatomy*; Quintinie's *Compleat Gardiner*; and Virgil, Horace, Juvenal and Persius, all in the popular *ad usum Delphini* edition.

In his usual practical manner he worked out all the details involved in starting his lending libraries. After one-third of the cost, amounting to about £30, was subscribed, the books would be sent, packed in wooden book presses containing shelves. The remaining twenty pounds came from subscriptions of the parishioners who were given the privilege of borrowing from the library after they paid. The books were purchased from booksellers who, in consideration of the quantity bought, gave one free copy for every ten bought. The free copy was set aside to make up a parochial library for a clergyman in the colonies. So, to the inducement of providing a lending library for his neighborhood, the subscriber had the satisfaction of knowing that he was doing something toward propagating the gospel in the plantations. The title of the book, the name of the borrower and the date of the loan were entered in a book kept for that purpose. As was the custom in subscription and circulating libraries as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, the borrower was allowed to use a folio for a month, a quarto for a fortnight and an octavo for a week. Once a year the books were inspected by the arch-deacon in whose district they were located.

The number of these lending libraries established by Bray has been variously estimated. According to his Accounts he sent out over sixty collections of books in England and the Isle of Man.¹⁵ In 1852, a query as to the number of libraries protected by the Act of 1708

¹⁴ Listed in the Easter Term Catalogue for May 1697. Arber, III, 16.

¹⁵ Dr. Bray's Accounts a, pages 47-54. Library of Congress transcripts.

brought forth replies from many English deaneries listing the titles of the old books. In 1877, the Library Association of the United Kingdom circularized the English Church and found that there were still one hundred and seventy-six "Dr. Bray Libraries" in existence. Many of these were probably established by Dr. Bray's Associates, an organization founded by him to carry on his work after his death. The following items were prepared and printed by him in connection with the lending libraries:

An account of Charges in proposals and Books for promoting both y^e aforesaid Libraries, And other Charges Relating thereunto¹⁶

	£	s	d
Essays for promoting y ^e aforesaid Libraries 500 at 4d a piece prime cost.....	8	6	8
ffor printing and giving y ^e Sheet proposals for Lending Libraries	2	10	0
ffor printing and giving y ^e Supplem ^t to y ^e Bib: parochialis in Order to Raise parochial Catechetical Libraries.....	1	10	0
ffor printing and Giving 100 of y ^e Bibliotheca Catechetica which at 1s prime Cost.....	5	0	0
ffor printing y ^e Subscription Role for Lending Libraries and y ^e Rules for y ^e preservation of y ^e same.....	2	10	0
	<hr/>		
	19	16	8

On December 19, 1697, he preached a sermon entitled "Apostolick Charity" at St. Paul's in London at the ordination of some missionaries who were going to the colonies, and when it was published a few months later, he added to it "A general view of the English Colonies in America" containing the number of parishes, churches and libraries in each colony. Under the heading of Maryland he wrote that there were:

30 Parishes, but meanly Endow'd, the Country being but lately divided into Parishes, and the Churches but lately built, to the great Charge of the present Governour, Colonel Nicholson, and the Country.

There were sixteen ministers and sixteen parochial libraries at that time. When he drew up his Account in 1702, he listed each library sent to the colonies with its present location, the number of books and the value. The following table shows the location and size of the twenty-eight parochial libraries and one provincial library sent to Maryland.

¹⁶ Dr. Bray's Accounts a, page 54. Library of Congress transcripts.

[From] An account of the Libraries Sent into America and their
Respective Value¹⁷

Place	Number of Books	Value
Annapolis ye Cheif City of the Province....	1095	£350: 0:0
St. Marys.....	314	82: 7:0
Herring Creek	150	48: 0:6
South River.....	109	34: 3:6
North Sassafras.....	42	51: 7:6
King and Queens Parish.....	196	31: 0:0
Christs Church Calvert County.....	42	31:14:6
All Saints Calvert County.....	49	21:10:0
St. Pauls Calvert County.....	106	33:13:0
Great Choptanck Dorchester County.....	76	2: 8:0
St. Paul Baltimore County.....	42	33:16:6
Stipney Somerset County.....	60	21: 3:0
Porto Batto Charles County.....	30	9:18:6
St. Peters Talbot County.....	15	12:14:0
St. Michaels Talbot County.....	13	3: 9:6
All Faiths Calvert County.....	11	2: 0:0
Nanjemy Charles County.....	10	1:17:0
Piscatoway Charles County.....	10	1:17:0
Broad Neck Ann Arundel.....	10	1:12:0
St. Johns Baltimore.....	10	1:12:0
St. George Baltimore.....	10	1:12:0
Kent Island	10	1:12:0
Dorchester Dorchester County.....	10	1:12:0
Snow Hill Somerset County.....	10	1:12:0
South Sassafrass Cecil County.....	10	1:12:0
St. Pauls Kent County.....	30	6: 3:6
William and Mary Charles County.....	26	5:11:6
Somerset Somerset County.....	20	2:19:0
St. Pauls Talbot County.....	25	4: 5:6
Coventry Somerset County.....	25	5: 4:8
Libraries sent	Total number of books	Total value
To Maryland	2566	808:07:6
To all other colonies.....	1504	964:06:0

The actual work of preparing the volumes for shipment was probably done by Bray's secretary. The books were wrapped in paper to protect the cover with its gilt lettering showing the name of the library, and were then packed in wooden boxes. Bray designed these boxes, or book presses as he called them, so that they could be used as book cases on their arrival. They contained shelves and were fitted with locks, bolts and handles. In order that the books should not be

¹⁷ From Manuscripts of Dr. Bray's Associates, S. P. G. Dr. Bray's Accounts a, pages 18-27. Library of Congress transcripts.

damaged by shaking about while in transit, he bought hay to stuff in the corners.¹⁸ The boxes were carted through the streets to the wharves where the vessel was waiting to take them to the New World. On their arrival in Maryland they were first taken to the Governor who divided them and sent them out to the clergymen in the various parishes.

The parochial libraries sent to the colony were safeguarded by several acts of the legislature. The first act was passed September 1696 and, although soon repealed because of its severity, served as a basis for the subsequent legislation. The books were to remain in the possession of the minister of the parish during his residence there and he was required to give a receipt for them to the Governor and Council and to the vestry of the parish. When he left his parish he had to turn over the library to the vestry and to pay for all missing books. Twice a year the vestry inspected the collection and if they neglected this duty or failed to account for missing books, they were subject to a fine of one thousand pounds of tobacco. This feature of the law was repealed by the "Act for Securing the Parochiall Libraries" of July 1699 which appointed Bray "Chief Visitor" of all the libraries in the colony and took the responsibility out of the hands of the vestry.¹⁹ It was impossible for Bray to give the libraries the necessary personal supervision required to protect them from loss since he was in Maryland for only a few months. So he tried to find a clergyman who knew and loved books to serve as librarian for the colony. His friend, Bishop White Kennett, recommended Thomas Hearne, the twenty-four year old graduate of Oxford who had already begun his notable career as an antiquarian and Assistant Keeper of the Bodleian Library. On December 3, 1703, Bishop White Kennett wrote Hearne offering him this position:

For your own sake as well as that of your best friend and Patron Mr. Cherry, I should be always glad to doe you any service, and perhaps now an opportunity does offer. Dr. Bray Commissary to the Bp. of London, for the care of Mary-land and other Western Plantations, having been already to visit those parts and designing another Voyage very shortly, to carry on the good designs of Religion, he has now occasion to send over three or four Missionaries or young, sober Divines, to be there upon Parochial Cures. I mentioned you as a Man of a pious, sober, and studious inclination. For tho' many offer themselves, he receives none but such as he has reason to think are men of probity and conscience. In short, if you think fit to begin the world in those parts I

¹⁸ These details are gleaned from Bray's Accounts, which contain careful record of all the expenses in shipping the libraries, even the cost of the ale he bought the porters when they carried the heavy boxes down "3 pairs of Narrow winding Stairs."

¹⁹ The text of the act is printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XXII, 517-518.

have obtain'd this particular encouragement for you. You shall be ordain'd at the care and charge of Dr. Bray; you shall have a library of 50£ given upon charity to carry with you, shall be immediately in a Cure of 70£ *per Ann.* and by degrees shall be better preferr'd. And besides the Parochial Cure you shall be Librarian to the whole Province, to visit and survey all the publick libraries, that have been lately erected in those parts, for which office beside the Credit and authority of it, you shall have the Salary of 10£ *per Ann.* and the first years payment advanced before you go. When you have been there any time you have liberty to return with money in your pocket, and settle here in England, if you are not more pleas'd with all the good accommodations of that place. I think you can have no objection, but that you must wait the advice and consent of Mr. *Cherry*, as you are bound in all duty and discretion to do. I have upon occasion mentioned such a design to him, and I believe you will find him willing, that you should put yourself into any such course of life, as may suit with your own Inclination, and be for your Interest. I mean only as a friend, and it is with some trouble I have procur'd better terms for you than can be allow'd to any one other that goes with you. Consider of it, and pray God direct you to the best resolutions.²⁰

Hearne consulted with his friends and his patron and after receiving their advice he prayed for divine guidance:

O Lord God, Heavenly Father, look down upon me with pity and be pleased to be my guide, now I am importuned to leave the place where I have been educated in the university. And of Thy great goodness I humbly desire Thee to signify to me what is most proper for me to do in this affair.²¹

He made the wise decision to reject the offer which would have taken him so far away from the library resources of Oxford and London. That this pious scholar, whose love of books was so great that at a later date the curators of the Bodleian found the only way to keep him out of the library was to change the locks on the doors, should have been considered for the position of librarian of Maryland, indicates in a marked degree the extent to which Bray was interested in advancing religion and education in the colony.²²

The Act of 1699 proved to be of little real value in protecting the parochial libraries, because Bray's visit to the colony in 1700 was too brief for him to make a complete survey of the books in the

²⁰ Quoted in full in *The Lives of those eminent Antiquarians, John Leland, Thomas Hearne, and Anthony a Wood*, Oxford, 1772. v. 1, pt. 2, pp. 8-9.

²¹ Eugene Field, *Love Affairs of a Bibliomaniac*, New York, 1896. Contains an interesting short account of Hearne, "as glorious a collector as ever felt the divine fire glow within him," pp. 33-34. Hearne enjoys the questionable distinction of being embalmed in Pope's *Dunciad*:

"But who is he, in closet close ypent,
Of sober face, with learned dust besprent?
Right well mine eyes arede the myster wight,
On parchment scraps y-fed, and Wormius hight."

²² *The Lives of those eminent Antiquarians*, pp. 18-19.

scattered and isolated parishes, and on his return he had been unsuccessful in finding a good librarian to act as his deputy. Undoubtedly at his request, a third "Act for securing the Parochial Librarys" was passed in September 1704.²³ This act again put the responsibility for the inspection of the books on the vestry and the penalties for neglect were even more severe than in the first act. Informers were rewarded by half of the fourteen hundred pounds of tobacco which the vestry was fined if it was found guilty of not visiting the library twice a year. Any group of vestrymen could sue their minister for the full value of the missing books. In addition to this, the Governor and Council were empowered to appoint special visitors to examine the collections. The vestry books of the early parishes record the regular examination of the libraries. But as the interest in these collections of old theological works lessened and the threat of prosecution for neglect became more remote, the vestrymen gladly forgot about the legal responsibility forced upon them by the far-off Dr. Bray.

Most of the parochial libraries were sent to Maryland when the first incumbents were appointed to the newly established parishes. After 1710, there were practically no large collections of books sent to the colony, because the Bishop of London and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel felt that the Maryland clergy was well provided through the earlier benefactions of Dr. Bray. Occasionally exceptions were made to this rule after great effort on the part of the local rector and his vestry, as illustrated in the case of Prince George's Parish. George Murdoch had been rector of this parish for only a short time when his house and all of his books were burned. In June 1730 he wrote the Bishop of London:

. . . Dr. Bray has done much good to Maryland in this affair, viz, in giving & stirring up others to give such good and usefull books to such as want them, But I understand he is dead, Therefore I thought it proper to apply to your Lordship. I am also in great want myself at present, having lost almost all my books by fire, and should take it very kindly, & esteem it as a great favour, if you please to Send to me and my Successors Ministers of our Parish, Dr. Scots Sermons, Mr. Blairs works &c, Dr. Barrows works, Dr. Beveredge his works, & Dr. Tiltsons [sic] works . . .²⁴

He received no reply from the Bishop so he asked his vestry to write, hoping that their request might have more effect:

. . . We humbly Pray your Lordship to Send our Parish a Small Library of Books, some whereof that may be more properly for the use of him, and his

²³ In *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, pp. 336-7.

²⁴ Fulham Palace manuscript. Maryland No. 188. Library of Congress trans.

Successours, Ministers of our Parish, and others that may be adapted to the Capacities of the meanest Readers, as he shall Require, or your Lordship Shall Judge most proper. Our Parish is of a very large Extent and all parts of it cannot be Supply'd as it ought to be, and therefore we are in greater necessity of good Books than other Parishes who are more Compact. Most Parishes have Considerable Libraries bestowed upon them by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in forreign parts, our Parish is but a new one, not abouve Six Years Old, and Consequently unprovided.²⁵

Murdoch wrote again the following year:

. . . as for a Small Library of Books we have no great Reason to Expect them, Because it will be troublesome to you. Only this I beg leave to Say, All the old parishes are pretty well furnished, and So far as I can understand, without any cost to them, Being procured by the Care of Dr. Bray, who Stirred up others to Contribute toward such a good design . . .²⁶

The Bishop of London was apparently impressed by the letters for he turned them over to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Murdoch was advised that:

The Society after consideration of this matter, have directed me to acquaint you that it is a standing Rule of the society not to send a Library to any but Missionaries; however they have resolved to send a Number of books for the use of your Parishoners, and have agreed to send you four pounds worth of small Tracts, 25 Whole Duty of Man and 25 Common Prayers. These books you will receive with this conveyance, and the society desire you will distribute them in the best manner among the poorer Inhabitants . . .²⁷

Maryland clergymen wanting to augment their parochial libraries could of course order the books they needed at their own expense through the local merchant or directly from the London book dealer. But not many clergymen were able to afford the luxury of buying books from their salary. A more convenient method of acquiring books for those who could afford it was offered through the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. This organization, not to be confused with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, had been founded in 1697 by Bray who, failing in his effort to get money from the Crown to send missionaries and libraries to Maryland, drew up a proposal for a chartered society which would receive and administer gifts from interested persons. His original plan was to have the society select clergymen to be sent to the colonies, to provide parochial libraries for their use, to make special grants to encourage worthy colonial clergymen and to provide for the widows

²⁵ Fulham Palace manuscript. Maryland No. 34. July 6, 1731.

²⁶ Fulham Palace manuscript. Maryland No. 35. June 30, 1732.

²⁷ Rev. David Humphreys to Rev. George Murdoch. London, April 18, 1733. S. P. G. misc. unbound manuscripts. Library of Congress trans.

and children of the colonial clergy. He proposed that in order to strengthen the church at home, this society should establish catechetical libraries in the smaller parishes, provide lending libraries in the market towns and start schools for the education of poor children. When he returned from Maryland he decided that a separate society would be necessary to administer the needs of the colonists. Thus, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was chartered in 1701 with some of the original functions of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. A third organization, "Dr. Bray's Associates," was founded in 1723 to administer an endowment fund for educating Negroes and distributing books. It was from this society that came the parent organization of the group who founded Georgia.²⁸

The activities of these three societies were closely related and their specific functions were never clearly separated. However, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge had centered its interest on distributing books and providing educational opportunities for poor children. After 1701, its activity in America, with the exception of certain assistance given in Georgia, was limited to sending small collections of books to missionaries, through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Learning of this service, Henry Addison, a clergyman living on the Potomac River in Maryland, wrote asking to be admitted to membership.

I have a desire then, Sir, of becoming a Member of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; & if I am thought not unworthy, a Subscriber to that Pious Design; but should be glad (if it is not inconsistent with the Rules of the Society) to have such religious Tracts, of those distributed by the Society, as I shall direct annually sent to me to the amount of my Subscription wch I propose to be £2 . . . Not having a Catalogue of the Books & Tracts distributed by the Society . . . I cannot be so particular as I could wish for such I would chuse to have next Year. There being a pretty many of the Church of Rome in my Parish, I could be glad to have some of the most approved Tracts upon Popery, & such as are written to the Level of the meanest Capacities;—particularly some historical accounts of their cruelties towards the Protestants in England and Ireland . . .²⁹

There is no record whether he succeeded in his attempt to buy books through membership in the society, but as the request was accompanied with money, we may hope he did.

²⁸ See Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732*, Durham, 1928. Chapter XIII, "The philanthropists and the genesis of Georgia." Also see Bernard C. Steiner, "Two Eighteenth Century Missionary Plans," *Sewanee Review*, XI (1903), 289-305.
²⁹ S. P. G. Misc. Unbound Documents—Maryland. LC Trans.

Although the parochial, provincial and laymen's libraries of Maryland received more attention from Bray than those of any other colony, the lists of books contained in them have not been as well preserved. Among the valuable manuscripts he left to Sion College Library was that entitled "Bibliotheca Americanae Quadripartitae . . . or Catalogues of the Libraries sent into the severall Provinces of America." Unfortunately, libraries sent before 1700 are not listed in it and therefore the most important Maryland collections are omitted. This and many of the other early manuscripts came to light when the cellar of an old building near the Thames was flooded in 1928.³⁰ It is possible that the catalogs of the early Maryland libraries were destroyed at that time. However, catalogs can be found of the libraries of those parishes whose vestry books have been preserved.

The following list of books sent as a parochial library to St. James Parish in Anne Arundel County in May 1698, affords a representative example of the books sent to the other parishes.³¹

Bookes In Folio:	Twenty:	Place printed att	Yeare printed in
1	Biblia Sacra &c: ab: Imp. Tremellio and Fran. Juno. &c.	Halvona	1603
2	Poli Synopsis Criticorum Vol: 4 in librs 8 ^o	London	1696
3	Dr. Hamond upon ye New Testament	London	1686
4	The Cambridge Concordance	Cambridge	1698
5	Mr Hookers Ecclesiasticall politie in 8 books	London	1682
6	Clementis Recognition: libri 10m &c . . . Opus: Erudition D: Irenai Epis: Lugd: advts: Haeres: &c lib 5	Basil	1526
7	Dr. Jeremiah Taylers: Ductor Dubitantium	London	1660
8	Bishop Pearson: On ye Apostles Creed	London	1683
9	Bishop Sanderson (36 Discourses, life & preface	London	1689
	(21 Discourses	London	1686
10	Philippi a Lamborch &c., Theologia Christiana	Amsterdam	1695
11	A: B: Tillotson's Workes	London	1696
12	The Jesuites Morals by Doctor Tonge	London	1679
13	Du Pins Ecclesiasticall History vol. 7 Bookes 3	London	1696

³⁰ Article by Hubert W. Peet, "Thames flood injures Maryland relics" in *Baltimore Sun*, March 4, 1928.

³¹ Vestry book of St. James Parish; in Maryland Diocesan Library. This list was reprinted without the places of publication in T. C. Gambrall, *Church Life in Colonial Maryland*, Baltimore, 1885, pp. 104-111.

14	A view of universal History from ye Creation to ye yeare 1680 by Fran: Tallents	London	
15	Thomae Aquinatis Summa totius Theologie in 3 parts	Coloniae Agripp.	1622
16	Blomes Geography & Cosmography translated from Varenius, & taken from Mons: Sanson	London	1693
17	Ludon: le Blane Theses Theologicae	London	1683
18	Sr Richd Bakers Cronicle of ye Kings of England	London	1696
19	Q: Sept: Florentis Tertuliani opera ge. Hactenus Reperiri potuerunt omnia	Paris	1590
20	Doct. Bray's Catecheticall Lectures vol. ye 1st or Lectures on ye Church Catechism	London	1697

Bookes In Quarto Marked as above:		Printed att	Printed in ye year
1	Robertson: Thesaurus Graecae linguae	Cambridge	1676
2	Ejusdem Thesaurus linguae Sanctae	London	1680
3	Linguae Romanae luculent: novum Diction:	Cambridge	1693
4	Luijts (Johannis) Introductio ad Geographium	Traject	1692
5	Ejusdem Institutio Astronomica	Traject	1695
6	The Holy Bible With ye Common prayer	Oxford	1696
7	Francisci Turrentini Compendium: Theologiae	Amsterdam	1695
8	Vict: Bithneri Lyra Prophetica	London	1650
9	Dr. Parker's Demonstration of ye law of Nature	London	1681
10	Dr. Bray's Bibliotheca Parochialis	London	1697
11	A: B: Leighton's practicall Commentary on ye First Epistle generall of St. Peter in two vol.	1 att Yorke 2 att London	1693 1694
12	Ejusdem praelectiones Theologicae	London	1693
13	Dr: Sherlock: Concerning providences	London	1694
14	Dr: Patricks parable of ye Pilgrime	London	1687
15	Lld: B:p of London-Derry Exposition on ye Ten Commandments With two other Discourses	London	1692
16	A Commonplace Booke to ye Holly Bible	London	1697
17	Dr. Combers Church History Cleared from Rom: forg:	London	1695
18	Jonathan Stolham's Reviler Rebuked	London	1657

Bookes	In Octavo (Viz)	Printed att	Printed in ye yeare
1	An abridgm't of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of ye World in 5 bookes	London	1698
2	The B: p: of Bath and Wells Commentary on ye 5 bookes of Moses in two volumes	London	1694
3	Dr. Sherlock on Death & Judgment	London	1694
4	Lovis le Comptes Memoires & observations	London	1697
5	The Workes of ye Author of ye Whole Duty of man in two volumes	London	1697
6	Fran: Palaeopolitanus Divine Dialogues 2 volumes	London	1668
7	The Septuagint &c. two volumes	Cambridge	1665
8	Sanct Salvianus De Gubernatione Dei &c.	Oxonia	1683
9	Elis de Articulis: 39 Ecclesiae Anglicanae	Amsterdam	1696
10	The plaine man's Guide to heaven	London	1697
11	B: p: King concerning ye Invention of men in ye Worship of God	London	169—
12	The Christian Monitor	London	169—
13	Lacantii opera omnia	Cambridge	168—
14	Epis: Sanderson de Obligatione Conscientiae	London	169—
15	Idem de Juramento promission	London	164—
16	Daniel Williams of Gospell Truth	London	1695
17	Nath. Spinckes of Trust in God	London	1696
18	Reflections upon ye Bookes of Holly Scripture, 2 volumes	London	1688
19	Mr. Dodwell's two letters of advice	London	1691
20	Xenophon de Institutione Cyrii Graece	London	1698
21	Henipin's New discovery of America	London	1698
22	Dr. Bate's Harmony of ye Divine attributes	London	1697
23	A: B: Leighton's Discourses	London	1692
24	Dr. Comber on ye Com'on Prayer	London	1688
25	An Inquirey after Happiness part ye 1st	London	1696
	An Inquirey after Happiness part ye 2nd	London	1696
26	Part ye third by ye author of practicall Christianity	London	1697
27	Dr. Scott's Christian life, part ye first vol. 1st' part ye Second of	London	1692
	vol ye Second	London	1694
		London	1695
28	Dr. Connant's Discourses 2 vols	London	1697
29	Grotius de jure Belli et Pacis	Amsterdam	1651
30	Dr. Busbig's Graecae Gramatices Rudiment	London	1693

Bookes In Octavo (Viz)	Printed att	Printed in ye yeare
31 Dr. Jerem. Taylor of Holly Living and Dying	London	1695
32 Rays's Wisdom of God in ye Workes of Creation	London	1692
33 Dr. pierce pacificator: Orthodoxo Theolog: Corpuscul:	London	1692
34 B: p: Burnets pastorall Care	London	1692
35 P: Lombardi Sententiarum libri 4o: Co	Coloniae Agrip	1609
36 Doctor Stradlings Discourses	London	1692
37 Theoph: Dorington's family devotion, 4 vols.	London	1695
38 Amesius de Conscientia	Amsterdam	1635
39 Dr. Bray of ye Baptismal Covenant	London	1697
40 Dr. Falkner's Vindication of Liturgies	London	1681
41 his Libertas Ecclesiastica	London	1683
42 Ye B: p: of Bath & Wells on ye Church Catechism	London	1686
43 Clerici Ars Critica	London	1698
44 Doct Barron on ye Apostles Creed &c.	London	1697
45 The Snake In ye Grass	London	1698
46 B: p: Stillingfleet Concerning Christs Satisfaction	London	1697
47 His vindication on ye Doctrine of ye Trinity	London	1697
48 his Discourses 2 volumes	London	1697
49 A Discourse concerning Lent in 2 parts	London	1696
50 William Wilson of Religion and ye Resurrection	London	1694
51 Dr. Ashton Concerning Death bed Repentance	London	1696
52 H. Stephani Catechismus Graeco Latinus	Havoniae	1604
53 Biblia Vulgata p. Robertun Stephanum		1555
54 The Life and Meditations of M: A: Antonius R: Emp:	London	1692
55 Abbadies Vindication of ye Trueth of Xtian Religion part 1st	London	1694
56 Part ye second	London	1698
57 The practicall believer in Two parts	London	1688
58 Wingates Arithmatick	London	1694
58 Sr: Math: Hales Contemplations Morall and Divine in 2 parts	London	1695
59 Fran: Buggs picture of Quakerism in 2 parts	London	1697
60 { W. A. of Divine Assistance	London	1698
his Christian Justification Stated	London	1678
his Animadversions on ye pte of Robt Ferguson's Book, (entitled) ye Interest of Reason in Religion which treats of Justification	London	1676

Bookes In Octavo (Viz)		Printed att	Printed in ye yeare
61	{ His Serious and friendly Address to ye Nonconformists	London	1695
	His State of ye Church In Future ages	London	1682
62	{ The mistery of Iniquity unfolded	London	1675
	W: A.'s Catholicisme	London	1685
	the Danger of Enthusiasm Discovered	London	1674
63	{ W: A: of Humility	London	1681
	of ye Nature, series and order of occurrences	London	1684
	His persuation to Peace and Unity among Xtians	London	1680
64	{ the first	London	1698
65	{ the second volum; of A B:p: Til-		
	lotson's	London	1696
66	{ the third Discourses pub. by Dr. Baker	London	1696
67	{ the fourth	London	1697
68	{ Dr. Tillotson's Rule of faith	London	1670
	Dr. Stillingfleet's Reply to J. S. 3rd Appendix &c.	London	1678
69	The Unreasonable of Atheisme made Manifest	London	1669
70	Dr. Hammond de Confirmatione	Oxon	1665
71	Dr. Wake Concerning Swearing, Dupli- cate	London	1696
72	His Discourses on Several Occasions	London	1697
73	Dr. Cockburn's Fifteen Discourses	London	169-
74	{ Ascetecks, or ye Heroick vertue of ye Ancient Christian Anchorites and Caenobites	London	1691
	Theologica Mistica: 2 Discourses Con- cerning Devine Communications to Souls Duly Disposed	London	1697
75	Doctor Goodman Seven Discourses	London	1697
76	Dr. Hornecks Severall Discourses upon ye 5th Chapt. of Mathew Vol ye first	London	1698
77	Dr. Pelling's Discourse upon Humility	London	1694
78	Concerning Holliness	London	1695
79	Concerning ye Existence of God	London	1696
80	Jno. Ketlewells Help and Exhortation to Worthy Communication	London	1696
81	His Five Discourses on Practicall Re- ligion	London	1696
82	His Measures of Christian Obedience	London	1696
83	Dr. Hody of ye Resurrection of ye Same Body	London	1694
84	Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christians	Oxon	1675

	Bookes in Octavo (Viz)	Printed att	Printed in ye yeare
85	Mr. John Edwards' Thoughts Concerning ye Severall Causes and Occasions of Atheism	London	1695
86	His Socinianism unmasked	London	1696
87	His Discourse Concerning ye Authority, Stile, & perfection, of ye old, & new Testament In three vol	London	1696

Several additions to the St. James Parish library were listed in the vestry book. On June 5, 1703, the laymen's library was received and a few years later several additional titles were added to the parochial library. In 1709 James Rigbie, a vestryman, gave twenty pounds sterling "to be laid out in good and godly books." Although the vestry book does not show whether this bequest was carried out, it indicates that the value of books in the religious life of the church was recognized by some of the congregation. The parochial library was frequently visited by the vestry and in 1748 they made a written inventory of the books. Finding that some of the books were missing they "Order'd that the Regr. set up advertisement to desire all Persons having any of the Books belonging to the Library of this Parish to Return the Same Speedily."³²

The parochial libraries founded by the Rev. Thomas Bray of which the St. James Parish library is typical contained, as might be expected, a great preponderance of theological literature. The clergymen who enjoyed the use of these libraries in most cases owned books on other subjects which could be used to supplement their theological reading and helped to diversify their interests.³³ Although the parochial libraries were used by only a very small minority of the population, their significance should not be underestimated. The reading of the clergy was reflected in their sermons and private conversation so that in an indirect way the parochial libraries, by making books available to clergymen without adequate means to purchase them, helped to raise the general level of culture in the colony.³⁴ The account of the contributions of Dr. Bray to the literary culture of Maryland is not complete without reference to the establishment of laymen's libraries and the Bibliotheca Annapolitina, the provincial library at Annapolis.³⁵

³² Vestry Book of St. James Parish, page 211. Maryland Diocesan Library.

³³ The private libraries of Maryland clergymen as revealed in the inventories of their estates and in their correspondence will be described in a subsequent article, "The Reading Interests of the Professional Classes in Colonial Maryland, 1700-1776."

³⁴ The commonplace book of the Rev. William Brogden, of All Hallow's Parish in Anne Arundel County, and the few manuscript sermons preserved in the Maryland Diocesan Library contain references revealing the extent to which reading was used in sermons.

³⁵ These libraries will be described in the next article in this series.

" BALTIMORE'S YESTERDAYS "

AN EXHIBITION AT THE MUNICIPAL MUSEUM, SEPTEMBER TO FEBRUARY

By T. EDWARD HAMBLETON

Since the first plan for an exhibition of Baltimore's past was presented to the Trustees of the Municipal Museum, it has transformed itself a thousand times. There was first the idea—to present Baltimore's history not to the scholar or the antiquary but to the average Baltimorean, in such a fascinating manner that he would feel the vitality and flavor of each period from the laying out of the town to the present day. But the committee who proposed this first plan was far more full of the idea than of the technique of preparing an exhibition. It was proposed to show the visit of Lafayette to the city in 1824, so admirably described by J. H. B. Latrobe, until it was found no pictorial record existed and a like problem brought to an impasse a reconstruction of the Betsy Patterson-Jerome Bonaparte nuptials. But a great number of events such as the riots of the fifties had quite escaped the members of the committee and slowly, with the continual help and criticism of Mr. James, director of the Museum, a plan evolved from the idea which has gradually become articulate.

No building in the city could be a happier choice to house such an exhibition than the Municipal Museum, for the place is not only a period piece to begin with but is as full of associations with the past as any structure in Baltimore. As to material, the budget precluded dioramas, excepting one, a specific gift, and lack of space ruled out period rooms excepting the large gallery on the second floor already decorated in the late Federal period. The material consisted mainly of oils, prints, broadsides, and models belonging to the Museum, the Maryland Historical Society and private collections, and this became the substance of the show. The question remained as to the correct method of integrating the material, for however charming a print or interesting a broadside, it lacks significance unless it bears a relation to other material around it, unless of course the spectator is able to supply these associations himself. With this idea in mind, one of the more gifted members of the committee produced a scale model of Baltimore in 1790 founded on Folie's map. Here was the frame for the first room. With the model in the centre it becomes possible to give life to the material by showing contemporary views of the houses on the map, the men and women who

lived in them, the newspapers they read, the political broadsides they found nailed up at the market place, the invitations to dances they attended, and the rules they made for the Assembly. In such company William Goddard’s Declaration of Independence and Mary Goddard’s news of peace in ’83 take on the same contemporary excitement they had when they were spot news to earlier Baltimoreans troubled with numerous annoyances that curse our advanced society and tasting pleasures much like the ones it is sometimes our good fortune to enjoy.

Now came the problem of the gallery, which was happily transformed at the time of the regeneration of the Museum into a ball room of the period of the second war with England. Thus making a virtue of necessity it was decided to furnish the room as that of some wealthy merchant of Baltimore in 1815. This gives variety, and a certain perspective is kept for the room itself by hanging the walls with such contemporary material as Benjamin Latrobe’s elevations of the Exchange and the Cathedral and J. H. B. Latrobe’s drawings which illustrate Lucas’ *Picture of Baltimore*. Then, believing this merchant to have some spark of patriotism, prints of the Battle of North Point and a contemporary edition of the Star Spangled Banner are added just to remind the casual spectator that this man probably shook in his boots when a volunteer on that memorable fourteenth of September in 1814 at Fort McHenry.

In the next room time skips on into the thirties and forties and here a diorama of the harbor presents the key to the period. The busy picture of the harbor filled with commerce moving from Baltimore to China, Baltimore to Liverpool, Baltimore to Charleston with the merchants, the sailors, the clerks, and the hangers on brings to life the two Bennett views and the Köllner scenes of the monument, the hospital, the City Springs and the rest. But this is only a partial view of the period. Charming ladies looked at fashion plates such as those on the wall and perhaps copied them, while the gentlemen had their tailors make up coats and trousers to such patterns as may be seen near by the ladies’ fashions.

Now in chronological order come the high lights of the day—the catalogue of Rembrandt Peale’s exhibition in this same museum with his Court of Death, the wonder of the age, directly above it, then the railroad march which heralded the corner-stone laying of the B. & O. and the Endicott and Swett views of the early right of way; the young Whig convention of ’44 with a general view of Canton race course where it was held, a portrait of the hero of the occasion, Henry Clay, and a poster giving full directions as to the route of

the parade to Canton; finally the Mexican War, brought close to Baltimore by the intrepid ponies of the Sun-papers, together with the death of the gallant Major Ringgold. All of it and more besides to prove that life was as full when "Old Moses" was peddling water ice as it is today.

Forward the exhibition drives to the fifties, stopping long enough to show a number of views of the city and then hurrying on to a broadside telling in no uncertain terms that Whigs have been pipe-laying to the detriment of all good Democrats. But since there is much to be said on both sides a cartoon follows accusing Mayor Swann of bringing in "Irishmen and other riffraff" to vote the Democratic ticket. There is the Sun Iron building standing out darkly, a product of Mr. Abell's enterprise, and under it an extra commenting on the regrettable incident at Harper's Ferry. Here are lovely ladies playing croquet and swimming in the sea and men sitting in oyster houses and discussing the state of affairs of a desperate country. Somehow, too, there is a feeling of waiting for the wrath to come.

Now events follow quickly on each other—Lincoln's clandestine trip through Baltimore, the fight in Pratt Street, the appeal to the citizens for the defense of the city against Federal troops at Cockeysville and finally domination by Union soldiers. All of this has happened within two months and the long war years begin with Federal Hill fortified, the iron-clad *Entaw* at the foot of Pratt Street, and an oath to be taken by any citizens who choose to vote. In spite of the excitement in '63 with barricades in Saratoga Street and Colonel Johnson's appeal to join the Confederacy, the war comes to an end and the Freedmen begin to drift into the city. The decade closes with the disastrous flood of Jones Falls and, on a lighter note, with the masquerade ball in the Assembly Rooms. None of this is dead stuff; it is as alive as the men once were who posted the proclamation to the citizens of Baltimore to rally to their city's aid or Johnson in his appeal to the young men urging that they shake off the shackles of tyranny. But after so much in two dimensions there comes a need for three and with an appreciation of this a full-size reproduction of Mayor George William Brown's office in this same building is shown as it might have looked on the night of the attack on the Massachusetts troops.

The march of time continues with a picture of the city in the seventies, Druid Hill Park, the new City Hall and the Sesquicentennial. Another full-size room shows the bridal suite in a Bay Line Boat as it might have looked to a young couple bound for Old

Point Comfort on their honeymoon. Now there come the Oriole Festivals and the theatres, Pimlico and fox hunting, and at last the banner-winning Orioles of '96. Events pass quickly with the Spanish War and the fire until the end comes with an extra shouting " Peace! "—to end the war which made the world safe for democracy.

The sequence has inherent interest and color but this is immensely heightened by the progression of events and the interrelation of seemingly irrelevant sidelights. The whole attempts to tell its story thru the material without titles or catalogue but since such an attempt often becomes a mere *tour de force* there is a running story of the city, a kind of text on each wall which the material illustrates, explaining each period as a whole rather than the specific items.

Equally important with the general history is the mercantile, manufacturing and financial story of the city which follows a narrower line but is handled in much the same way. Here again is a series of pictures showing in greater detail the first mills, the Conestoga wagons, the need of keeping the western trade and the establishment of the B. & O. As the years go by the picture changes—certain industries rise and others drop out, methods of business give place to others, inventions change the entire picture of communication. All of this has glamour and excitement. It does not attempt to mould the pictures into a series of morals or solutions but only to present at the end the complete and amazing picture of what made the city of Baltimore.

Here is an exhibition which will run for six months at the Municipal Museum, representing an attempt to show Baltimore's past as it was, that the present citizens may gain a certain perspective from it and, without slavishly following tradition, find new strength in it. The work has been full of enthusiasm, some of which, it is hoped, will seep into the exhibit. Perhaps there may arise from it a more vital interest on the part of the city and on the part of the citizens in some permanent exhibition which will revivify the richness of Baltimore's tradition that lies locked away in her libraries and monuments.

SHIPS AND SHIPPING OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND

By V. J. WYCKOFF

(Continued from Vol. XXXIV, page 63)

1675-1700

Shipping in Maryland. Even with the fourth quarter of the century under way detailed information about the maritime activities of Maryland remained rather scarce up to the last decade. To be sure England was regulating trade under the Navigation Acts, but until administrative control became centered in the Board of Trade in 1696 data of a statistical sort at least for Maryland were fragmentary. The several sources for material include first, a number of reports under different titles relating to the handling of navigation bonds in the province with a total of 229 vessels from which 194 are used in the subsequent tables. Those items are scattered with no uniformity over the years 1679 through 1696.¹⁰² The second source is the valuable "List of Ships Trading the Maryland from 30 Apr. 1689 to 1693," containing a net number of 248 vessels with the most complete returns for the years 1690, 1691, 1692.¹⁰³ The third major ref-

¹⁰² British Public Records Office, Colonial Office Papers, 5: 714, ff. 86-93, MS (photostats, Library of Congress; hereafter cited as P. R. O., C. O.). The titles of the lists follow: "A List of Navigation Bonds Sued in his Majesty's Prov[incia]ll Court in Maryland and upon which Judgements are obtained," ff. 86v, 86; there were 28 ships listed giving the name of the securities, the masters, the ships, and date of bonds. This list bore an endorsement "No. 5" which probably referred to the numbering given by Governor Nicholson of Maryland when he sent the information to the Board of Trade, March 25, 1697, *Archives*, XXIII, 88. The second list was titled "List of Bonds taken in Maryland and for which Legal Certificates have been produced," f. 87; there were 60 items with incomplete information about 1. The columns covered the dates of bonds, names of vessels, masters, securities, date of certificate which discharged the bond, name of place where the certificate was discharged, date when the certificate was filed in discharge of bond; this list was endorsed "No. 7." Next was a "List of Navigation Bonds taken in the Province of Maryland in Discharge of which no Cert[ificates] yett [March, 1697] produced," ff. 88, 89, 90, 91, 93; there were 114 ships listed, a major and minor list, with incomplete information about 1. The column headings were dates of bonds, names of ships and home ports, masters's names, securities and location; this list bore an endorsement "No. 6" which also covered the next two lists. Then "A List of Navigation Bonds for which no Certificates produced and on which Declarations drawne," f. 90, containing 19 ships under the headings: dates of bonds, name of vessels and home ports, names of masters, securities and location. The last is "A List of Navigation Bonds Principals nor securities to be found," f. 91, containing the names of 6 vessels for which the masters or securities in 4 cases were dead or insolvent, or dead and the estates insolvent. The columns have the dates of the bonds, vessel names and ports, masters, securities and places. Of the 229 vessels the information for 2 is too incomplete to use, and 33 of the 227 seems identical with the entries on the next list, the "Maryland Miscellaneous," leaving a usable balance of 194 vessels. These reports will be referred to in this article as the "Navig. Bonds" lists.

¹⁰³ Filed under "Maryland, Miscellaneous," MS (photostats, Library of Congress). It was endorsed "Recd 25 Apr. 1694 from my Lord Baltimore." There were 249 items but one ship was duplicated. This list will be referred to as the "Md. Miscell."

erence is the competent study, *Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689-1715*, by Margaret Shove Morriss who for a number of statistical tables drew directly upon British manuscripts not available in this country.¹⁰⁴ Finally, supplementary data have come from other printed and manuscript archives of England and Maryland.¹⁰⁵

An estimate was made in this article of 70 to 80 vessels trading in Maryland waters during the seventh decade and there was an official report for 1672 which stated that 81 ships cleared that year. The same procedure of estimation when applied to figures available for the ninth decade increases the average a trifle by placing the median at 80 vessels a year excluding, of course, the boats in local commerce.¹⁰⁶ Only by remembering that the result of 80 vessels is an approximated average can it be reconciled with the apparent deci-

¹⁰⁴ J. H. U. Studies, XXXII, no. 3. This source will be referred to as "Morriss."

¹⁰⁵ A careful check by inspection or correspondence of the major eastern university and historical society libraries and the Huntington Library has disclosed no further information of importance for the maritime activities of Maryland during the seventeenth century.

¹⁰⁶ London imports of tobacco seem to have been from 11½ million to 14½ million pounds of tobacco a year. One source gave the following amounts of tobacco from the "English Plantations" which predominantly were Maryland and Virginia:

Midsummer, 1685, to Michalmas, 1685, 4,891,509 lbs.

Michalmas, 1685, to Michalmas, 1686, 14,514,513 lbs.

Michalmas, 1686, to Michalmas, 1687, 14,067,177 lbs.

Michalmas, 1687, to Michalmas, 1688, 14,874,359 lbs.

The out-ports in 6 years ending 1688 and omitting 1685 imported a total of 80,970,033½ lbs. which though not designated must have come predominantly from the colonies, Spanish leaf being negligible, averaging for London 15,000 lbs. for the years 1686-1688. Thus the yearly average of the out-ports' tobacco traffic was 13,481,672, Sloane MSS, no. 1815, ff. 35, 37. In 1689 the London imports were 14,392,635 lbs. with about the same amounts for 1690-1692, Harleian MSS, no. 1238, f. 31, British Museum, (transcripts, Library of Congress). But from another source smaller totals appeared: the Custom House, November 28, 1689, gave to Sir Robert Southwell a rough estimate of London imports of tobacco for three years, 1687 had 12,050,000 lbs., 1688, 11,840,000 lbs., and 1689, 11,646,600 lbs. Sir Robert in a note to Robert Povey considered the 1689 figures "exact" and said that the quantity received "at other ports of England" was about 1/3 more, i. e., 3,882,200 lbs., giving the total for London and out-ports of 15,528,800 lbs., *C. C. P.*, 1689-1692, nos. 594, 595. The phrase "other ports" is vague and possibly did not cover all the places. Alfred Rive accepted the average of 14 million pounds of tobacco as London imports for 1689-1693, *Economic History*, I, 61.

Assuming that during the 9th decade the total tobacco imports of Great Britain averaged about 27,500,000 lbs. of leaf, and 500 lbs. to a hogshead (my estimate based on the increase in the legal sizes for hhds.) the result would have been 55,000 hhds. Allowing 280-300 hhds. to a vessel an estimate of 200 vessels was secured plus 10 per cent. for unrecorded shipments. Of the total Maryland's share was between 36 and 40 per cent., or an average of 80 ships, with a range of 75-80, which I believe a conservative estimate.

Some question might be raised about assigning to Maryland little more than one-third of the tobacco fleets from Maryland and Virginia, but several sources of information confirm the percentages, Morriss, pp. 33-34; Bruce I, 456; Leo F. Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America*, Carnegie Institute, 1924-1930, III, 3, 71, 355. However, by 1740 one source of information about commerce showed that of some 200 ships annually employed in the trade with the same two colonies, 100-110 sailed from Maryland, Anderson, *Origin of Commerce*, III, 496.

mation of shipping in 1689 as far as direct records for Maryland are concerned which showed 15-16 ships entering the province.¹⁰⁷ However, incomplete records must be the answer, because the British tobacco imports for the year given in note 106 are not out of alignment. To be sure that was a period of major political disturbance for the colony with Lord Baltimore's charter rights being challenged in the palatinate and in England; and a new war with France had broken out. But nature and economic necessity do not readily yield to questions of political sovereignty.

For 1690 the totals from different sources are more similar. Morriss indicated 49-52 vessels; the "Md. Miscell." entries number 70 which seem more reasonable and with an allowance for illegal trading would have registered nearer 80 ships.¹⁰⁸ There is no need at this time to present the details of calculation for each of the subsequent years of the tenth decade. The methods are the same, so are the sources supplemented with an occasional official item from British and colonial archives. Table I contains the results.

Ship-building in Maryland. There was no official recognition of the accomplished fact of the building of ships in Maryland until the last two decades of the century. To be sure a reference here and there from the days of Kent Island has been mentioned, and one may feel sure that the individual planters supplied themselves with the necessary small boats for personal transportation and for handling tobacco and goods between the shores and the channels where lay the ocean going ships. Mild encouragement had come from the various tonnage or port duty acts which contained exemptions or reductions of fees for vessels that belonged to the province. But no emphasis upon ship-building was found until the discussion of the

¹⁰⁷ The "Md. Miscell." list with no returns for the first quarter of 1689 gave a total of 16 scattered items. The various "Navig. Bond" returns had 15 which may be doubled because from available sources more than half the masters gave bond elsewhere. Morriss had 10-14 vessels, but gave an average of 72 for the years 1692-1699 "when the lists are more nearly complete," pp. 85-86.

¹⁰⁸ To support the estimate of at least 70 vessels in Maryland one could divide the number of hhds. exported from the colony by the average cargo per ship, which gave a range of 67-72 vessels, Morriss, pp. 31-33, 85; "Md. Miscell."

Confusion in using information about maritime activities at that period could arise on several points. First, the number of vessels sailing in one fleet with or without a convoy was but a part of the shipping for a year: e. g., 52 ships to Maryland and Virginia, *C. C. P.*, 1699, addenda nos. 1210-1211; 46 ships for the two colonies, *ibid.*, no. 1272. Second, although many ships arrived in the early months of the year, as many came after June during the period 1690-1692, and there was no reason to regard those years as peculiar: e. g., the English Treasury ordered the Customs to release 34 ships for Maryland and Virginia, Jan. 31, 1690, to sail under convoy, *Calendar Treasury Books*, 1689-1692, pp. 478-479; information on dates for entering and clearing will be given in Table VII. Third, a reference to a certain number of vessels in Maryland waters was neither inclusive nor for the whole year unless so stated.

tonnage act by the August, 1681, Assembly.¹⁰⁹ It has been suggested that the indifference toward ship construction had a certain amount of reason behind it. Tobacco and profits from merchandise disposed of in the colony were sufficient incentives for ship masters to come; therefore, why build vessels and divert efforts from the more

TABLE I. ESTIMATE OF THE NUMBER OF SHIPS TRADING IN MARYLAND

Year	Number of Ships		Year	Number of Ships	
	Morriss	Wyckoff		Morriss	Wyckoff
1689.....	10-14 ¹	50-60 ²	1695.....	71	85-95
1690.....	49-52 ¹	75-85 ²	1696.....	60	55-65 ⁶
1691.....	15-16 ¹	95-105 ³	1697.....	79	105-115
1692.....	81-89	90-100 ³	1698.....	73	90-100
1693.....	56-59	80-90 ⁴	1699.....	98	95-105 ⁶
1694.....	44-47	50-60			

1. Morriss considered the returns for 1692-1699 "more nearly complete," and "where two figures are given for a year it indicates that the place of ownership of several vessels is not stated, although the probability is that they were from English ports. If they are counted, the larger figure is correct for each year." Pp. 85-86.

2. These estimates were just discussed.

3. These figures were based primarily on the "Md. Miscell." list. There was a trader's note, dated December, 1691, that because of crop failures in 1691 only 2-3 of the 50-60 ships would sail within less than three months, C. C. P., 1689-1692, no. 1951. The spring fleet of some 50 vessels had departed by June, 1691, and the trader's figures of 50-60 agreed with the "entries" for Maryland from May to December on the "Md. Miscell." list.

4. The years 1693-1699 were not covered adequately by the "Md. Miscell." list, so my estimates were based largely on the figures by Morriss taken from the official records of the number of hogsheads shipped from the three naval officer districts of the colony, with an allowance for illegal and bulk tobacco.

5. Supplementary data: in May, 22 masters petitioned to clear and in December, 32 masters asked delay; although there were probably a few duplicates in those figures the total was definitely above 50 vessels, *Archives*, XIX, 297-298; XX, 557-558.

6. Supplementary data: accounts filed by George Plater, collector for the Patuxent District including Annapolis and Williamstadt, for the year 1699 or a broken period of approximately the same length showed 68 vessels, Additional Manuscripts, no. 9747, f. 13-15, British Museum (transcripts, Library of Congress). Those three ports handled about 84 per cent. of the recorded hogsheads for 1699, Morriss, p. 34. Another record with dates starting September-November, 1698, and running for 12 months and including the Pocomoke District gave 93 vessels, Sloane MSS, no. 2902, ff. 284-287.

congenial and apparently indigenous occupation of tobacco cultivation. But vessels did not always appear when wanted; nor were they always available on terms acceptable to the planters. Furthermore, certain counties of Maryland by the end of the seventeenth

¹⁰⁹ The Lower House reminded the Upper House "That Whereas the Building of Ships and Vessels in this Province *will be* of very great Concern to the Augmenting of Trade and many ways to the Publick Good and Benefit of this Province and People thereof," they proposed that vessels built in or belonging to the province should not have to pay port duties. Nothing definite was done at that time. *Archives*, VII, 144, (*italics mine*). For the tonnage acts, see above, note 63.

century were tiring of the vagaries of tobacco prices and one-crop agriculture. The Eastern Shore in particular began to think in terms of grains, and the Scotch-Irish in that area turned with increasing concentration to the making of woollens and linens from domestic raw supplies.¹¹⁰ Building of boats and ships was another way for the people to free themselves from too great dependence both upon one product and also upon one source of ocean transportation.

Official acknowledgment of the desirability of local ship-building came again in the October session of the 1695 Maryland Assembly when a member of the Upper House presented "a certain paper of proposalls . . . put in for Encouragem^t of building small Ships and Vessells, the which were approved of" and ordered to be laid before the Burgesses.¹¹¹ The fate of that particular proposal is in doubt. Possibly it was expressed in an exemption of Maryland built and owned vessels from the 4 pence duty on imported liquors (except those from England) which law was passed by the 1694 Assembly and reaffirmed by the one of 1695.¹¹²

But there is definite evidence that some building of vessels was already under way:

In obedience to an Ord^r of his Exc^y the Gov^r and Council bearing date the 28th day of May 1697, Commanding the sever^{ll} Sheriffs of this Province to make strict enquiry of what Shippes and Vessells trading to Sea have been built within their respective Countys since his Maj^{ty}'s happy Reign, as also what Sloops and Shallops to the Country belong, and what are now building, together with the number of seafaring men. Pursuant whereto they make their Returns vizt.:

That was the beginning of the only detailed official information about ship-building in the colony during the seventeenth century.¹¹³ For convenience the data have been summarized in Tables II, a and b.

¹¹⁰ C. C. P., 1693-1696, no. 1916.

¹¹¹ *Archives*, XIX, 227. Ten years before this the English Parliament had become concerned over the "more than ordinary Decay in Building Shippes in England," and passed an act imposing a five shilling per ton additional duty on all foreign built vessels trading in English ports, not applicable to ships made free, *Statutes of the Realm*, 1 Jac. II. c. 18 (VI, 20-21).

¹¹² The 1692 act for liquor duties had not exempted Maryland vessels, *Archives*, XIII, 466. By some authorities there was uncertainty about the reenactment of a similar law in 1694 because it was not formally presented in the journals, but the evidence for it seemed adequate: it was listed as a law in the discussions of the Upper House (*ibid.*, XIX, 89), though not in the acts regularly appearing at the end of the journal, and the editors of the *Archives* indexed it as one of the bills "which seem to have passed, though the text is not in our records." *Ibid.*, p. 611. However, Bacon gave the liquor duty as a law; and in the 1695 Assembly discussion of a bill to exempt provincial vessels there was evidence of the validity of the 1694 measure, *ibid.*, 134, 224, 229, 247-248, 253; Bacon, *Laws of Maryland at Large*, Annapolis, 1765, chs. XIX, XX.

¹¹³ *Archives*, XXV, 595-601; P. R. O., C. O. 5: 714, ff. 212-215, which references also cover the data in Tables II, a, b.

TABLE II, a. SHIP-BUILDING AND OWNERSHIP IN MARYLAND COUNTIES, 1689-1697

	Number of Vessels, Western Shore Counties					Number of Vessels, Eastern Shore Counties					Total
	Anne Arun.	Baltimore	Calvert	Charles	Pr. Geo. St. Mary's	Cecil	Dorchester	Kent	Somerset	Talbot	
Vessels built or building:											
Shallops	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	12
Sloops	8	—	—	2	1	—	—	1	12	13	37
Pinks	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5
Brigs	2	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	1	6
Ships	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	4	4	3 ¹	13
Total.....	11	0	0	0	3	0	1	6	28	22	73
Vessels bought or origin not given:											
Shallops	11	—	4	5	—	6	3	1	—	7	41
Sloops	—	—	8	3	1	1	6	3	—	6	33
Pinks	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Brigs	2	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	1	6
Ships	3	3	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	2	11
Total.....	16	3	12	8	1	8	11	4	0	17	92
Maryland vessels,											
Total.....	27	3	12	8	4	8	12	10 ²	28	39	165
Seafaring men.....	10 ³	—	—	5	3	—	—	8 ⁴	2	6	44

1. One of these ships was of 300 tons, another 450 tons.

2. There was one more vessel which could not be accurately classified.

3. Three of these men were commanders, seven "apprentices."

4. There were twenty-six more men, apparently English seamen temporarily in Maryland.

In some cases the wording of the reports is vague but the results in the following table are substantially correct. A letter from the English Commissioners of the Customs to Edward Randolph, Surveyor General of Customs in America, stated that some of those vessels were being built for Scots, though to be registered in the plantation and when loaded to depart without giving bonds.¹¹⁴ From such reports it must be assumed that some ship-building was under way before the province came under the Crown, because there was no reason for a sudden burst of activity beginning exactly in 1689. On the other hand, an absence of definite references to the con-

TABLE II, b. TOTALS OF VESSELS BY TYPES

		Number of Vessels	
Local use:			
Shallops	.....	56	
Sloops ¹	.....	35	
		—	91
Coastal and ocean use: ²			
Sloops	.....	35	
Pinks	.....	6	
Brigs	.....	12	
Ships	.....	21	
		—	74
Maryland vessels, total	.....		165

1. About one-half of the sloops seemed too small for use except in trade with Virginia and Pennsylvania.

2. In the British Naval Office Lists there were at least 80 Maryland owned vessels listed between 1689 and 1701, Morriss, p. 114.

struction of vessels in Maryland on any scale prior to 1690 would indicate that the industry really struck its stride during the last decade.

Ferries in Maryland. A word or two should be given to the public use of boats in inland transportation. Interest was expressed in the efforts to establish and maintain ferries across the numerous stretches of water which cut many of the most direct routes to the provincial capital as well as to the county seats. Official action on that need was evidenced as early as 1658 when an act of the Assembly provided that every county except one must maintain one ferry at the expense of the county and under the administration of the local court. Those ferries probably operated without a fee, because the act was silent on that point.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ *Archives*, XXIII, 329.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 375-376. The act was in force for three years or to the end of the next General Assembly. In the contemporary manuscripts a "Publick ferry" meant a service

In 1664 three specific ferries were established apparently in places not previously serviced, and each case the counties (Calvert, Charles and St. Mary's) were to maintain them. The minimum lengths of the boats were specified, 14 feet by keel in two cases and 18 feet in the third. It seems probable that those ferries also were free because no fees were listed.¹¹⁶ But the continuance of satisfactory services remained a real problem to the end of the century. Ferries supported out of local tax funds either did not pay or the positions were drawn into politics, because by the last quarter of the century the tendency was to authorize the private operation of such services for the public on a stated schedule of fees: one shilling was usually the maximum for either man or horse across the wider rivers. Even such encouragement seemed unsatisfactory, so in 1698 all provincial aid and supervision ceased. However, private persons were encouraged in the business by the permission to keep inns at the landings without paying the usual license fee for such ordinaries, and counties were allowed to make ferry costs of their delegates to the Assemblies a part of their county levies.¹¹⁷

Prices of Maryland Vessels. When it comes to the prices for which vessels sold not enough data are available to allow more than a rather generous range.¹¹⁸ There is a record of a brigantine valued in 1678 at 12,000 lbs. of tobacco, £75, and the suit of sails for it were 2,000 lbs., £12.10. Several years later a small boat was appraised at 300 lbs.¹¹⁹ Another brigantine in 1689 was sold at a total price of about 24,000 lbs. of leaf; first, one-half interest went for £50 and

established for general public use, and did not refer to the source of its funds, that is, public subsidies or levies on the one hand, or direct individual service charges on the other.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 534-535. On some count opposition developed and fragments of an Assembly journal, 1666, indicate possibilities of repeal, *ibid.*, II, 69, 76. After all, at most of the ferries the patronage was probably very irregular and to meet the conditions of keeping a man and boat at hand from sun up to sun down was scarcely profitable unless the county was generous with aid. Furthermore, in many places it was handier for the traveller to get the nearby planter to set him across a river than go out of the way to the nearest established ferry.

¹¹⁷ Ferry regulations from 1667 to 1700, with all references to the *Archives*: 1673, V, 118-119; 1675, XV, 54-56; 1676, XV, 93-94; 1678, VII, 38; 1680, XV, 288-289; 1682, XVII, 123; 1695, XX, 320; 1696, XIX, 359, 364, 463, 512, 563; 1698, XXII, 44, 83-84, 114, 120, 238. In none of the laws or ordinances where specific rates for services were stated were charges for wagons mentioned, evidence of the scarcity of such vehicles.

¹¹⁸ Not quite the same difficulty was found with prices for some of the more common commodities, live stock, slaves and servants, though the sources yielded nothing like the long continuous series of prices available for some of the colonies in the 18th century. See, V. J. Wyckoff, "Seventeenth Century Maryland Prices," *Agricultural History*, XII, 299-310; "Land Prices in Seventeenth Century Maryland," *American Economic Review*, XXVIII, no. 1, pp. 82-88.

¹¹⁹ Md. P. C. R., NN, pp. 678-681, 715-716.

10,000 lbs. of tobacco, £42, and later the same buyer offered two able working Negroes and 5,000 lbs. of tobacco. An approximation of all those payments was £150, which was the value allowed by the jury when suit was brought for incomplete payment.¹²⁰ For one ship seized and condemned for violating the Navigation Acts there are some details: the hull was appraised at £118, the guns and equipment at £165, and a long boat at £8,—a total of £291. The merchandise it carried was valued at £459.12.2, and several Negroes £103,—the grand total was £853.12.2, which in present day money might come to about \$20,000.¹²¹

Prices for a number of small vessels are available during the tenth decade: a shallop for £20, a "Large Boate called a fflatt " at 3,000 lbs. tobacco or £12.10, a sloop and a flat boat together were judged worth 40,000 lbs. by the owner bringing suit but the court cut that sum to 8,000 lbs. plus 2,226 lbs. of leaf for costs. A 16 foot boat was sold for £6.12, a 20 foot shallop for £10.8, a small boat at £50 though it could not have been very small, and a decked sloop for 26,000 lbs. of tobacco or £108; and finally a condemned ship 100 feet long, 6 years in use, with masts and yards was appraised at £250.¹²²

Probably the most convenient unit for expressing ship-building prices is the ton burden; unfortunately in the above descriptions necessary facts were not given. However, from the type of the vessel an estimate can be made within a fairly wide range, and on such a basis these tentative figures are offered: £1-£2 sterling a ton for small, used boats, £2.10-£3.10 for a new boat or a used ship, and £3.10-£4.10 for a newly constructed ocean going vessel of 100 tons or better. From other areas comes information on this subject. In New England where ship-building continued an important industry it was stated that " good white oak vessels in America cost about £4 a ton, while in England costs were £7-£8 according to Sir Josiah Child." ¹²³

There were a few rentals of vessels. A 200 ton ship was leased at £65 a month plus wages and provisions for the ship master and a crew of sixteen. About the same year, 1676, there were several more statements: a boat with a two man crew for 120 lbs. of leaf a day, a shallop and two men for 90 lbs., a sloop without crew for 50 lbs.,

¹²⁰ Md. P. C. J., TL (1), pp. 297-300. The Negroes could be valued at 5,200 lbs. of tobacco or about £22 each, Wyckoff, " Maryland Prices." Unless the ages and conditions of two vessels of the same type were stated, the values allowed but a most guarded comparison. Also a free or forced sale must be considered.

¹²¹ P. R. O., C. O. 5: 713, f. 268.

¹²² Md. P. C. J., DS (c), p. 98; *ibid.*, TL (1), pp. 580-583, 603-604, 750-751, 762-764; P. R. O., C. O. 5: 714, f. 359.

¹²³ Hans Keiler, *American Shipping, its History and Economic Conditions*, Jena, 1913, p. 9. Also see, Weeden, pp. 253, 367-369; Bruce, II, 437-439.

and another sloop for the flat rate of £10 a month. A trip from the head of Chesapeake Bay down and around into the Potomac in a sloop with a crew of three men cost 1,300 lbs. of tobacco plus the provisions for the men. On that trip an allowance was made for "a reasonable demurrage" in case of a wait over 4 days, a charge for idleness of equipment used currently; however, Andrews mentioned a usual discount of £3 offered by owners to those ship masters whose stay in the tobacco colonies was less than 40 days. One or two other items came toward the close of the century; a boat rented at 10 lbs. of tobacco a day, a decked sloop at £3 a week, and a small, equipped boat at £5.8.7 a month, a sloop and a flat boat to load a big ship at £3 a month.¹²⁴

Shipping in Other Colonies. Before giving other results from an analysis of the various reports on the maritime activity in Maryland a few records on shipping in the other colonies for the fourth quarter will offer a basis for comparison. From Massachusetts in 1676 came a statement on locally built and owned vessels: 30 of them from 100 to 250 tons, 200 of 50-100 tons, 200 of 30-50 tons, and 300 small boats 6-10 tons, a total of 730 vessels which well sustained the ship-building reputation of that area.¹²⁵ The preponderance of small vessels was noticeable; they were used principally in the fisheries and in the inter-colonial trade including the West Indies. Furthermore, a number of the ships were for sale, "it was considered not remarkable for New England builders to receive orders from Great Britain for 30 ships in one year."¹²⁶

The direct exchange of goods between New England and the mother country was small in quantity though valuable. Quantitative trade was with other countries, other colonies and in tobacco from the plantations to ports across the Atlantic. For instance in 1699 from Boston the governor wrote to the Committee on Trade and

¹²⁴ References for the data in this paragraph in sequence: Md. P. C. R., NN, pp. 182-184, 289-290, 678-681; Md. Inventories and Accounts, III (1676-1677), p. 82, MS (Hall of Records, Annapolis); Andrews, *Colonial Period*, I, 211; Md. P. C. J., WT(4), pp. 242-245 recorded a suit for demurrage in 1699 against a ship in the Maryland-Barbados trade at the rate of £30 a month; *ibid.*, WC, p. 379; *ibid.*, TL (1), pp. 580-583; *ibid.*, WT (3), pp. 192-194, 389-390.

¹²⁵ Weeden, p. 254. Yet at the end of the century there were not as many vessels in the general commerce of New England, the registers of Boston in 1700 showing 25 ships over 100 tons and 39 about 100 tons, 50 brigantines, 13 ketches, 67 sloops,—a total of 194. Other towns in Massachusetts had about 70 vessels, and New Hampshire reported 24, *ibid.*, pp. 363-4.

¹²⁶ Clark, *Hist. of Manufactures*, I, 95, citing Hutchinson, *Papers*, II, 232. Marvin observed that "of 1332 vessels borne on the archives in the State House at Boston as built between 1674 and 1714, 239 were disposed of to foreign owners." Winthrop L. Marvin, *The American Merchant Marine*, New York, 1902, p. 4.

Plantations that there were at least 70 idle ships in the harbor,—the tobacco crops of Maryland and Virginia having failed.¹²⁷ Massachusetts continued regulatory legislation, passing a law in 1698 that no ship of more than 30 tons could be built “unless under the direct supervision of a competent shipwright.”¹²⁸ Rhode Island, although active commercially, had no more than 4 or 5 vessels in the eighties but took part in “the golden days of colonial and provincial ship-building in the first decade of paper inflation, before prices had been so generally advanced that our mechanics could not compete with the specie values of Europe.”¹²⁹

Although Virginia in 1681 answered an English order in council against the encouragement of ship-building with the statement that the colony had but 2 ships built and owned within its borders, by the last decade construction was picking up a bit. “In 1697, ships were constructed in Virginia by Bristol merchants who were influenced to build there by consideration not only of the fine quality of the timber, but also of the comparatively small cost entailed in the performance of the work.” And other vessels were built for domestic use.¹³⁰ Pennsylvania also was active as was shown in a letter by Governor Nicholson of Maryland to the Duke of Shrewsbury, 1695. He mentioned that 12 to 14 sloops, brigantines and other types were on the ways near Philadelphia, and (the real purpose of the letter) the owners were enticing seamen away from the merchant ships in the southern tobacco colonies.¹³¹

Length of Voyage. Information about the number of days taken to cross the ocean to and from the colonies has been given except for the last quarter of the century. There was relatively little improvement over the trips recorded after 1650. To be sure the direct routes to the different colonial ports had become established which lessened the necessity of using intermediate points such as Bermuda or the West Indies, and for return voyages to Lyme, Falmouth, Weymouth, Cowes, and London a period of 27 to 35 days seemed usual.¹³²

Nor was there much improvement in the conditions of passage. Pastorius coming to settle in Pennsylvania in 1683 found the ship food and drink “rather bad.” Ten people received 4 jugs of beer and 1 jug of water daily, 2 dishes of peas every noon, 3 lbs. of butter

¹²⁷ C. C. P., 1699, no. 890; Weeden, p. 266.

¹²⁸ Weeden, pp. 366-368, with quotation from Massachusetts *Archives*, LXII, 294-296.

¹²⁹ Weeden, pp. 573, 361-362.

¹³⁰ Bruce, II, 437-439.

¹³¹ C. C. P., 1693-1696, no. 1897.

¹³² C. D. P., 1676-1677, pp. 204, 216; 1677-1678, p. 647; a trip to Cowes was made in 20 days, *ibid.*, 1682, p. 182.

a week, and meat four times, salt fish three times a week,—he found it hard to tell the meat and fish apart. Enough had to be saved at noon for the evening meal. He advised passengers to bring other provisions for their own use or “carefully stipulate with the ship’s

TABLE III. PASSENGER CHARGES ON SHIPS TO THE AMERICAN COLONIES, 1675-1699

Year	Route	Number of People	Charge per Person ¹	Reference
1678	England—plantations	man, 5 servants	£9	Md. P. C. R., NN, pp. 677-8
1678	Hull—Maryland	man, servant	£12, £6	<i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 816-8
1678	Ireland—Maryland	40 passengers	£5.12 ²	Md. P. C. J., WC, pp. 113-7
1678	Ireland—Md. and Va.	90 servants	£5	<i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 97-8
1680	England—plantations	4 persons	£6	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 706
1680	England—W. Jersey	adults	£5	Myers, <i>Narratives</i> , p. 194
		children, under 13 yr. sucking children	£2.10 £0	
1681	England—Pennsylvania	masters, mistresses servants children, under 7 yr. sucking children	£6 £5 £2.10 £0	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 211
1685	England—plantations	14 servants	£5.10	Md. P. C. J., DS(A), pp. 189, 281
		master, servant	£5.10	
1697	England—plantations	adults	£6	C. C. P., 1696-7, no. 1411
1699	England—Pennsylvania	adults	£6	Myers, p. 388
17th C.	England—Virginia	servants	£6	Bruce, I, 629
1676	New England—Maryland	2 men	£2	Md. P. C. J., NN, p. 31

1. When the passage charge was given in pounds of tobacco, the conversion rate was taken as 1½d. a pound up to 1680, and 1d. after that.

2. In addition to the £5.12 charge, a ½ charge was allowed for anyone dying on the trip, and there was an expense of 18d. a week while waiting in Ireland aboard ship.

master concerning the quality as well as the quantity of food which he shall daily receive.” Then bind the master more closely by withholding some of the passage money until arrival.¹³³

Passenger and Freight Charges. A summary of the information about passenger and freight charges to and from Maryland and other

¹³³ “Pastorius’s Pennsylvania,” Myers, p. 389.

American colonies in the last several decades of the century can conveniently be presented in tables.¹³⁴ As can be seen there was

TABLE IV. FREIGHT CHARGES ON SHIPS TO THE AMERICAN COLONIES, 1675-1699

Year	Route	Classification	Charge per ton ¹	Reference
1675	Virginia-England	tobacco	£7	Bruce, I, 451
1677	Maryland-England	tobacco	£6-£11 ²	Md. P. C. R., NN, p. 286
1678	Virginia-Falmouth	tobacco	£7-£10 ³	C.D.P., 1678, p. 473
1680	Maryland-London	tobacco	£6	Md. P. C. J., WC, pp. 794-6
1680	Virginia-England	tobacco	£6.10	Bruce, I, 451
1684	Virginia-England	tobacco	£5.5	<i>Ibid.</i>
1685	Maryland-London Maryland-Holland	tobacco	£6.5 ⁴ £7.5	Md. P. C. J., DS(A), pp. 556-7
1689	Maryland-London Maryland-Holland	tobacco	£14 ⁵ £16	<i>Ibid.</i> , TL(1), pp. 57-60
1690	Virginia-England	tobacco	£14	Bruce, I, 451
1690	Virginia-England	tobacco	£16	<i>Ibid.</i>
1691	Maryland-Hull	tobacco	£14 plus 2sh. ⁶	Md. P. C. J., TL(1), pp. 746-8
1692	Maryland-England	tobacco	£8.10 plus 2sh.	<i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 743-4
1697	Virginia-England	tobacco	£8	Hartwell, Blair, Chilton, p. 17 ⁷
	—	—	—	—
1680	England-W. Jersey	merchandise	£2	Myers, <i>Narratives</i> , p. 194
17th C.	England-Virginia	merchandise	£3	<i>Bruce</i> , II, 348
17th C.	England-New England	merchandise	£3	Weeden, pp. 369-370
17th C.	New England-England	freight	£3.10	Weeden, p. 370
	—	—	—	—
1685	Maryland-Pennsylvania	corn	£3	Md. P. C. J., DS(A), pp. 481-2

1. For tobacco shipments 4 hogsheads have here been considered a ton.

2. The contract was for 25 tons of bottom space at £11; 5 tons were sublet to the ship master for £6 a ton.

3. These prices were considered high.

4. These rates were contracted in the name of Lord Baltimore.

5. Probably the result of the Revolution and the war.

6. The 2sh. was the Maryland export duty on each tobacco hhd., one-half going to the proprietor, the other half to the provincial government.

7. Hartwell, Blair and Chilton, *The Present State of Virginia and the College*, London, 1727.

enough uniformity in the passenger rates to confirm the prices mentioned for earlier years. For freemen or masters the cost of trans-

¹³⁴ For the years before 1675 see this *Magazine*, Vol. XXXIV, 59-60 (March, 1939).

portation including food and drink was usually £6 sterling, and for servants from £5 to £5.10, with an occasional exception. Those sums were exclusive of the charges per day during the wait in the port of departure, the extras which could be provided by special arrangement, and the plantation duties on immigrants. Unfortunately none of the dates of the passenger items coincides with the disturbed years revealed by the freight rates.

Accounts indicate that unless a ship fell in with ruthless pirates the passengers were ultimately landed at some port and thus the risks of war and depredation fell mainly on freight shipments. In times of peace and with fairly normal conditions of demand for and supply of vessels, the freight rates from Britain to the colonies stayed very close to £3 a ton. It was on the reverse voyage that the variations appeared, though even there a fair statement seems that the charges per ton on tobacco (4 hogsheads) were £6 to £7 with rates doubled during wars. This conclusion must be restricted to the tobacco colonies. Weeden stated that freight from London was generally £3 a ton and £1½ to £1 higher on the return voyage.¹³⁵

(To be concluded.)

¹³⁵ Weeden, pp. 369-370.

BALTIMORE COUNTY LAND RECORDS OF 1686

Contributed by LOUIS DOW SCISCO

The increasing number of land transfers seems to indicate a growing migration from older counties in search of new lands.

The following entries are summaries of records on pages 166 to 208 of Liber R M No. H S, in which they were transcribed from an older liber called E No. 1, now missing.

Deed, March 2, 1685-86, Edward Mumford, planter, conveying to Thomas Stone and Dennis Garrett the 100-acre tract "Long Island Point" on the northwest branch on north side of Patapsco River, adjoining to land of Alexander Mountney. Witnesses, Olliver Haile, Clerk Thomas Hedge. Grantor acknowledges before Col. George Wells and Mr. Edward Bedell, commissioners. Clerk Thomas Hedge attests.

Bond, March 2, 1685-86, Edward Mumford, planter, of Patapsco, obligating himself to Thomas Stone and Dennis Garrett for 20,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Olliver Hayle, Thomas Hedge.

Deed, March 10, 1684-85, William Gaine conveying to Charles Gorsuch the 156-acre tract "Waltum" on the west side of Welshman's or Hadaway's Creek and east side of Sparrow's Creek, on north side of Patapsco River, adjoining to land formerly laid out for Howell Powell. Witnesses, John Maniner, John Amberson. Grantor's attorney James Phillips acknowledges January 5, 1685-86, to grantee's attorney John Hathway, before George Wells and Mark Richardson.

Letter of attorney, April 3, 1685, John Martin, of Anne Arundel County, Phillips his attorney to acknowledge in court the sale of 156 acres. Witnesses, John Amerson, Edward Nowell.

Deed, April 3, 1685, John Martin, of Anne Arundel County, conveying to Joseph Sadler, of Kent County, the 100-acre tract "Martinsons" at Martin's Creek, on the south side of Back River near Patapsco River, it being agreed that if the upper part overlaps land lately sold by Martin to John Boreing the said Sadler shall not trouble Boreing, whose title shall remain good. Witnesses, John Ardin, Susannah Harris, Charles Gorsuch. Grantor's attorney James Phillips acknowledges on January 5, 1685-86, to John Hathway who appears for grantee's attorney Charles Gorsuch, before George Wells and Mark Richardson.

Letter of attorney, April 3, 1685, John Martin, of Anne Arundell County, appointing James Phillips his attorney to acknowledge sale of land. Witnesses, James Ellingston, John Ardin.

Letter of attorney, April 3, 1685, Joseph Sadler giving to Charles Gorsuch authority to receive acknowledgment of 100 acres. Witnesses, James Ellingstone, John Ardin.

Mortgage, March 24, 1685-86, George Coningam, cooper, pledging to William Ozbourne, planter, of Bush River, the 50-acre tract "Hoggs Neck"

and one black horse, as security against loss by Ozbourne, who is security for Coningham to Edward Reeves, planter, in the amount of 1,900 pounds of tobacco. Witnesses, Edward [torn], Evan [torn], Thomas Hedge.

Deed, January 23, 1685-86, Richard Johns, gentleman, and wife Elizabeth, of Calvert County, conveying to Thomas Lightfoot, gentleman, the 300-acre tract "Harboron," at the southwest branch, and the 150-acre tract "White Oak Spring," near an island, both on south side of Patapsco River. Witnesses, Thomas Lawrance, Geratt Hopkins, Robert Ward. Acknowledged before Thomas Taylor. Col. William Burgess attests.

Deed, March 1, 1685-86, John Bevan, planter, and wife Julian, for 3,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Marcus Lynch, merchant, of Galloway, Ireland, the tract "Limbrick." (*Record damaged and partly unreadable, but relates to 100 acres at Saltpeter Creek*).

Deed, July 2, 1685, George Gunnell, surgeon, of Allemack County, Carolina, conveying to James Mills the 100-acre tract "Galliarbe" on the west side of Bush River and adjoining to John Collyer's land, as formerly held by Joseph Gallion and sold by him to Edward Gunnell, said Mills having paid to Col. Vincent Lowe 5,000 pounds of tobacco on a bill made by grantor's deceased brother Edward Gunnell, for which Mills was security, and having paid also 510 pounds to Daniel Clocker and 473 pounds to John Blomfeild of St. Mary's County on grantor's debts; grantor also appointing Mr. John Hathway and Mr. John Eyles his attorneys to acknowledge for him in court. Witnesses, Richard Murfeild, William Hage, who depose before Governor Seth Sothell that they saw the deed executed. Grantor's attorney John Hathway acknowledges June 5, 1686. Clerk Hedge attests.

Quitclaim deed, April 13, 1686, Thomas Lightfoot, gentleman, conveying to John Mercer the 100-acre tract "Mill Haven" on the middle branch on north side of Patapsco River. Witnesses, Thomas Bland, Wolfran Hunt. Grantor acknowledges in June 1 court. Clerk Hedge attests. (*Record damaged*).

Deed, April 11, 1686, Anthony Ruly, currier, of Anne Arundel County, for 2,600 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Mercer, planter, of same county, the tract "Mill Haven," on north side of Patapsco River. Johana Ruly signs with grantor. Witnesses, Richard Hell, Laurance Draper, Thomas Mercer. Grantor acknowledges before Thomas Taylor and Vincent Lowe. Appended alienation receipt form unused. Notation by Roger Mathews of blanks in original record. (*Record damaged*).

Letter of attorney, undated, David Adams appointing Thomas Scudamore his attorney to receive 100 acres in court. Witnesses, Alice Roberson, Thomas Lack. Scudamore acknowledges attorneyship in June 1 court.

Deed, May 26, 1686, Charles Gorsuch conveying to David Adams the 100-acre tract "Welcome" on south side of Back River, adjoining or near to land where Rowland Thornbrough lives. Witnesses, James Collyer, John Hathway. Grantor acknowledges in June 1 court to grantee's attorney Thomas Scudamore before Col. George Wells and Maj. Thomas Long, commissioners. Clerk Hedge attests.

Bond, June 1, 1686, Thomas Richardson of Gunpowder River, obligating himself to John Bird for 10,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, John [torn], William [torn]. (*Record damaged*).

Deed, June 1, 1686, Thomas Richardson, planter, of Gunpowder River, conveying to John Bird, planter, the 100-acre tract "Richardsons Prospect" at Stoney Barr Point on the south side of the southwest branch of Gunpowder River, adjoining to land formerly taken up for John Owen and to the tract "Arthurs Choice." Witnesses, William Yorke, John Hathway, John Hall. Wife Rachel consents before Thomas Long and Francis Watkins. Clerk Hedge attests.

Letter of attorney, [blank] 1686, Samuel Wheeler and wife Ann appointing Thomas Lyghtfoot their attorney to convey 200 acres to David Jones. Witnesses, Edward Watson, William Bawll. Lightfoot acknowledges attorneyship at June 1 court. Notation by Roger Mathews of blank in original record.

Deed, March 22, 1685-86, Samuel Wheeler, gentleman, and wife Ann, of Cecil County, conveying to David Jones, gentleman, the 200-acre tract "Mountney Neck" on north side of the northwest branch of Patapsco River. Witnesses, Thomas Lightfoot, Edward Watson, William Baull. Grantor's attorney Thomas Lightfoot acknowledges in June 1 court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Letter of attorney, May 3, 1686, Robert Burman, merchant, appointing Mr. Mathew Hudson his attorney to govern the servants and overseers on two plantations at Patapsco River. Witnesses, Edward Mumford, John Harry ---, Robert Yas ---. Hudson acknowledges attorneyship at June 1 court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Bond, June 2, 1686, Charles Gorsuch certifying to agreement that he will not trouble or molest Edward Mumford, if the latter shall make good the title to the tract "Hopewell," on the north side of Patapsco River, near land of Solomon Sparrow. Witnesses, Thomas Scudamore, James Collyer. Gorsuch acknowledges at June 1 court. Clerk Hedge attests. Notation by Roger Mathews of blank in original record.

Deed, June 1, 1686, Edward Mumford conveying to Charles Gorsuch the 15-acre tract "Hopewell," on the south side of Sparrow's Creek on north side of Patapsco River, near Solomon Sparrow's land. Witnesses, Thomas Scudamore, James Collyer. Grantor acknowledges in court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed, October 28, 1685, Daniell Lawrance, tailor, conveying to Thomas Lightfoot, gentleman, the 100-acre tract "Daniells Hope" on the southwest branch of Bush River. Witnesses, John Hall, Robert Benger. Grantor acknowledges at June 1 court, 1686. Clerk Hedge attests.

Bond, May 26, 1686, Thomas Richardson, of Gunpowder River, obligating himself to Richard Ellingsworth, of same place, for 7,000 pounds of tobacco as security that he will keep the covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, James Collyer, Robert Benger.

Deed, May 26, 1686, Thomas Richardson and wife Rachel, of Gunpowder River, for three thousand [illegible] hundred pounds of tobacco, conveying to Richard Ellingsworth, of same place, the 214-acre tract "Richardsons Reserve" on the east side of the north branch and at the head of Gunpowder River, as patented August 10, 1684, to Richardson. Witnesses, James Collyer, Robert Benger. Grantors acknowledge and wife Rachel consents at June 1 court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed, June 25, 1686, William Osborn, planter, and wife Margaret, for love they bear to him, conveying to James Phillips, innholder, certain land

on the river, adjoining to the court-house land and to land formerly purchased from Osborn. Witnesses, John Heathcoat, Robert Oless, Clerk Thomas Hedge. (*Record damaged*).

Mortgage, May 5, 1686, James Fugett, planter, for himself and wife Dorothy, conveying for three years to Miles Gibson, gentleman, the 200-acre tract "North Yarmouth," at the head of Swan Creek, together with the manservant Thomas Wallingford, the household goods on the plantation, and twelve head of cattle, as security that he will pay in three installments a loan of 15,797 pounds of tobacco, some of the cattle having Fugett's mark and some that of James Ives, deceased, and some having belonged to Mr. Robert Langley's estate. Witnesses, Thomas Wallingford, William Jeff, Clerk Thomas Hedge. Appendant schedule of land and chattels covered by the mortgage.

Deed, July 27, 1686, Thomas Thurcall, planter, conveying to William Westbury a third part of the 50-acre tract "Daniells Necke." Jane Thurcall signs with grantor. Witnesses, George Wells, Edward Bedell, Clerk Thomas Hedge. Grantor acknowledges and wife Jane consents in September 7 court before Edward Bedell, she being Thomas Daniell's daughter. Notation by Roger Mathews of blanks in original record.

Bond, September 7, 1686, Thomas Thurcall and wife Jane obligating themselves to William Westbury, planter, for 12,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed, of same date, of a third part of land at Gunpowder River left to Jane by her father Thomas Daniell. Witnesses, John Hathway, Thomas Dalby.

Deed, February 9, 1685-86, John Meriton, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, for 5,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Sellman, of same county, the 500-acre tract "Meritons Lott," at Bynam's Branch on the east side of Bush River and adjoining to "My Lords Gift," as patented October 11, 1684, to Meriton. Witnesses, Richard Bland, Maran Davall. Grantor acknowledges before Thomas Taylor. William Burgess, Jr., attests. Notation by Roger Mathews of blanks in original record.

Bond, February 9, 1685-86, John Meriton, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, obligating himself to John Sellman, planter, of same county, for 10,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. No witnesses recorded. Thomas Taylor attests for William Burgess.

Deed, August 7, 1686, Samuel Sicklemore, planter, conveying to Arthur Taylor the 150-acre tract "Samuells Delight" on the east side of the north branch of Gunpowder River, lately taken up by grantor under warrant transferred by Thomas Lightfoot, deputy surveyor. Witnesses, James Taylor, James Greyer, Christopher Foster. Grantor acknowledges September 7 before George Wells and Edward Bedell.

Bond, August 7, 1686, Samuel Sicklemore, planter, of Gunpowder River, obligating himself to Arthur Taylor for 10,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, James Greyer, James Taylor, Christopher Foster. Sicklemore acknowledges September 7 before Col George Wells and Mr. Edward Bedell, commissioners, Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed, October 5, 1686, John Hall conveying to William Lenox the 55-acre tract "Hopefull Marsh" on the east side of Gunpowder River, adjoining to

"Sampsons Thickett" and to land of Godfrey Harmon. Witnesses, William Osborn, John Hathway.

Bond, October 5, 1686, John Hall, planter, obligating himself to William Lenox for 4,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of the same date. Witnesses, Robert Gates, William Osborn, John Hathway. Hall acknowledges before George Wells, Henry Johnson, Edward Bedell, and Major Richardson. (*Record damaged.*)

Deed, November 3, 1686, Thomas Hedge, gentleman, conveying to William Osborne of Rumley Creek the 100-acre tract "Common Garden" at Rumley Creek, adjoining to land of William Osborne, Sr., and purchased by grantor from Miles Gibson. No witnesses recorded. Grantor acknowledges in court to Mr. Marke Richardson, appearing for grantee. Deputy Clerk John Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge. Interpolated entry that Sheriff Thomas Long on October 4, 1688, receives from William Osborne, Jr., a year's rent as alienation.

Deed, July 20, 1686, Thomas Richardson and wife Rachel of Gunpowder River, for 4,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Robert Love of same place, 200 acres on the south side and at the head of Gunpowder River, as patented in 1685 to Richardson. Witnesses, John Boreing, Thomas Scudamore. Grantor's attorney, name illegible, acknowledges in court. Deputy Clerk John Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge. Notation by Roger Mathews of blank in original record.

Bond, July 20, 1686, Thomas Richardson, planter, of Gunpowder River, obligating himself to Robert Love, planter, of same place, for 6,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of conditions in deed of same date. Witnesses, Thomas Scudamore, John Boreing.

Deed, July 20, 1685 (*sic*), Thomas Richardson, of Gunpowder River, conveying to Robert Gates, of same place, the 30-acre tract "Gates Close" on the south branch and at the head of Gunpowder River, adjoining to Capt. John Waterton's land, said tract as patented in 1685 to Richardson. Witnesses, John Boreing, Thomas Scudamore.

Bond, July 20, 1686, Thomas Richardson, planter, of Gunpowder River, obligating himself to Robert Gates for 3,000 pounds of tobacco as security for keeping of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Thomas Scudamore, John Boreing. Thomas Scudamore acknowledges in November 3 court as attorney for Richardson and wife Rachel. Deputy Clerk John Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, September 4, 1686, Thomas Richardson, of Gunpowder River, for 2,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Haies, carpenter, of same place, the 100-acre tract "Richardson's [*blank*]" on the south side of Back River, in Gunpowder River, adjoining to the tract "Springs Neck." Witnesses, John Boreing, Thomas Scudamore. Notation by Roger Mathews of blank in original record.

Bond, September 4, 1686, Thomas Richardson, of Gunpowder River, obligating himself to John Haies, carpenter, of same place, for 4,000 pounds of tobacco as security for the keeping of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Thomas Scudamore, John Boreing. Thomas Scudamore acknowledges at November 3 court as attorney for grantor and wife Rachel. Deputy Clerk John Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, July 21, 1686, Thomas Richardson, of Gunpowder River, for 2,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to William Caine of Back River the 100-acre

tract "Richardsons Plaine" on south side of Back River, in Gunpowder River, adjoining to land of Richard Windley and opposite to tract "Spring Neck." Wife Rachel mentioned as co-grantor. Witnesses, John Boreing, Thomas Scudamore.

Bond, July 20, 1686, Thomas Richardson, planter, of Gunpowder River, obligating himself to William Caine, planter, of Back River, for 4,000 pounds of tobacco as security for fulfillment of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Thomas Scudamore, John Boreing. Scudamore acknowledges at November 3 court as attorney for grantor and wife Rachel. Deputy Clerk John Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge.

Letter of attorney, November 2, 1686, Rachel Richardson, wife of Thomas Richardson, appointing Thomas Scudamore her attorney to acknowledge conveyance of four tracts to grantees of same. Witnesses, John Boreing, Robert Gates.

Deed November 2, 1686, David Jones conveying to James Phillips the 550-acre tract "Rangers Lodge" at John [torn] Run, on the middle branch and at head of Bush River, as patented August 10, 1684, to Jones. No witnesses recorded. Capt. David Jones acknowledges in court. Deputy Clerk John Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, November 17, 1686, John Hall, planter, conveying to William Westbury the 50-acre tract "Hornenisham," on the east side of Gunpowder River, adjoining to the tract "Daniells Nest" formerly taken up by Thomas ODaniells, and also "part of three parts" of "Daniells Nest," estimated at 16½ acres, a total of 77 acres (*sic*). Deed executed December 7. Witnesses, Thomas Thurstone, John Hathway. Appendant unsigned certificate of possession.

The succeeding entries are from pages 1 to 9 of the original liber F No. 2 and pages 208 to 211 of a transcript in Liber R M No. H S. A few entries in the original record were not copied into the transcript liber, but are included here.

Mortgage, October 16, 1686, Peter Fucatt, planter, in consideration of certain tobacco received and of certain debts owed, conveying to John Walston, carpenter, for six years, the 100-acre plantation lately occupied by Fucatt and 100 acres adjoining to it, and if Fucatt shall die within that time and the debts be unpaid then title in fee simple shall vest in Walston. Witnesses, Henry Johnson, John Thomas. Fucatt acknowledges in December 7 court. Deputy Clerk John Hathway attests for Clerk Hedge.

Council warrant October 14, 1682, directing Capt. John Stansby, sheriff of Baltimore County, to permit Samuel Fendall or agent to take up six or seven unmarked horses or mares, Fendall and James Mills having declared that horses and mares of Fendall went astray five or six years ago and have been seen in those parts. Signed by John Lewelling, clerk of the council. Appendant list of brands of the strays, some having Henry Haselwood's mark. (*Omitted from transcript liber.*)

Assignment, November 14, 1683, Samuel Fendall of Charles County assigning to Capt. Henry Johnson of Spes Utie Island his rights under provincial warrant and making him attorney for taking up six or seven wild horses in place of ten horses and mares formerly lost by Fendall, bearing

certain brands. Witnesses, James Corney, Francis Frye, John Rawlings. (*Omitted from transcript liber.*)

Deed, August 20, 1686, Thomas Lightfoot, gentleman, conveying to Amos Nicols, gentleman, of Pennsylvania, 400 acres at Born Branch, on west side of the head of the Bay, near Susquehanna River, between lands of Capt. Thomas Stockett and adjoining to tracts "Born" and "Harmers towne" and to Col. Henry Darnell's tract "Convenience." Witnesses, Henry Johnson, John Langley. Grantor acknowledges on August 25 before Henry Johnson and Edward Bedell.

Deed, November 2, 1686, Miles Gibson, for 9,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Rawlings, planter, 150 acres, being half of tract "Collets Neglect" at Elk Neck Creek in Gunpowder River, said tract formerly granted to George Holland and later being the dwelling plantation of Michael Judd. Witnesses, Mark Richardson, Miles Gibson. Undated receipt, John Hall, sub-sheriff, having received six shillings from Rawlings for alienation. Grantor acknowledges in November court and gives possession. Deputy Clerk John Hathway certifies for Clerk Hedge. Notation by Roger Mathews of blank in original record.

BOOK REVIEWS

Archives of Maryland, LV: Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1757-1758 (25). Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society. J. HALL PLEASANTS, editor. Baltimore. Maryland Historical Society, 1938. Pp. lvi, 800.

Among the fifty-five volumes of original texts thus far issued under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society—a series unsurpassed in value and not even approached in length and variety of content by any other similar publication—no single number contains material of wider significance than that which is before us. The significance lies in the fact that the evidence, while of special concern for the history of Maryland, is of scarcely less importance for the history of the entire British colonial world. This evidence illumines one phase of a struggle that was taking place in the proprietary and royal colonies to throw off the restraining influence of the prerogative and to give control into the hands of the popular assemblies. These assemblies were bodies of elected delegates (though representative only of such of the people as had the voting privilege—owners of property and no others), which assumed the right, often at the expense of the legal claims of crown and overlord, to act as trustees of all the inhabitants of their respective provinces and guardians of the personal security and financial welfare of the people as a whole. This struggle, beginning in some quarters early in the century and continuing in almost unbroken sequence down to the Revolution, though always consistently the same in principle, varied everywhere in the details of its operation and in the methods employed on each side to attain the ends sought. It reached a high water mark in Maryland during the year from April 1757 to May 1758, for nowhere were the subjects at issue more vehemently contested or the impasse between the contesting parties more inescapable than in the province of which Frederick Calvert was the lord proprietor and Horatio Sharpe his governor during this momentous year.

On one side was the governor and his council, constituting the upper house, the first acting for the proprietor and subject to his orders and instructions, limited only by the terms of the charter, and the second, made up of his appointees, some half-a-dozen in number and like unto him in devotion to the proprietary claims; on the other, the popular assembly, or lower house, of fifty-eight deputies, four each from fourteen counties and two from the city of Annapolis, who sat as did the upper house in the Stadt-House at Annapolis. In addition to the preliminary matter, appendix, and index this entire volume is filled with the record of the proceedings of but four sessions of this general assembly, uncommonly expanded by an almost interminable exchange of messages between the two houses, in which amendments and counter amendments, "each better calculated than the other for the good purposes intended," were bandied back and forth without either side being able to convince its opponent. Some of these messages are prolix, involved, and wearisome, and, as to pertinence and reasoning, often difficult to follow. As it is impossible here to analyze, even briefly, the wordy altercation which

took place, attention may be called to the fact that the best summary of the arguments on each side is to be found in the governor's definition of the proprietary powers on pages 480-491, 499-519, and in the assembly's statement of its rights and privileges on pages 621-630, 674-676. Governor Sharpe must have taken extraordinary pains with his papers in his effort to controvert the contentions of the lower house, for what he says is, on the whole, well written and, granting his premises based on a strict constructionist approach to the charter, soundly and logically presented. But the lower house would not accept his premises, his interpretations of the charter, or his ideas about the prerogative and was in no mood to listen to what he had to say. It was always in a belligerent frame of mind, like a bear defending her cubs. It not only denied many of the proprietary claims, but even went so far as to question the king's right (as expressed in directions sent through the Admiralty and War Office to their officers in America) to issue orders binding on Maryland. On one occasion it refused to recognize an opinion of the attorney-general of the crown because, as the assembly said, it in no way applied to the province. The assembly was generally indifferent to arguments based on the practices of other colonies, and though when convenient to do so it could appeal to custom and precedent in Maryland itself, it was inclined to deny the value of such sustaining evidence when made use of by the other side.

It is not necessary here to recount the subjects upon which the two houses differed—matters of defence, taxation, double taxing of all Roman Catholics who would not take the oath of abjuration, duty on convicts, control of the militia, appointment of certain officials—notably the governor's secretary Ridout, a battle royal—and that hardy annual in nearly all the colonies, the right of the upper house to frame and amend money bills. These topics are so fully and admirably treated by Dr. Pleasants in his Introduction as to render repetition superfluous.

More to our purpose is it to look into the spirit and temper of the lower house in its attitude toward the proprietor. While the upper house rested its case upon a legal and strictly conservative view of the prerogative and the charter, the lower house took its stand upon the broader but looser foundation of what it declared to be its duty to the people at large. Desiring only "that the just and distinct Rights and Privileges of each Branch of the Legislature should be preserved," it asserted its "undoubted Right and indispensable Duty, as Representatives of the Freemen of the Province in Assembly convened, to enquire into, represent, and remonstrate against every measure in the Administration, or Exercise of the Executive Powers of Government within this Province, which in their opinion, may tend to affect the Lives, Liberties, or Properties of the People, in any manner not clearly warranted by the known Laws or Customs thereof." Though insisting that it had no desire to deprive the proprietor of any of his just rights, it disputed these rights whenever it could, basing its own claims, not only on its position as the only popular representative body in the government but also on its possession of all the privileges of the House of Commons in England. When the governor denied the latter claim and reasserted the full rights of the prerogative, he was charged by the lower house with exercising an "undue stretch of power," with exceeding "the plain and express limits" of his authority, with introducing "an arbitrary power, the exercise of which must in the end enslave the whole," and with "a total disregard of the reasonable

complaints of the Representatives of the People." Some of these phrases, and there are many others of a similar kind, are but the early faint rumblings of the coming storm of discontent.

Thus throughout the volume we can follow the conflict of two philosophies of government and can readily discern the circumstances out of which, in part at least, arose that fear of executive power which is so conspicuous a feature of early American history, not only in the later colonial period but for many years also after independence had been won. But in no other colony, except Pennsylvania, did the popular assembly go so far in its quarrel with the prerogative as to demand, as was done in Maryland, that the upper house be abolished altogether. Convinced that the councillors composing that house were giving "ill advice and counsel" to the governor, the members of the assembly moved for the elimination of these councillors as a part of the legislature. That they were influenced by the Fendall episode of a century before (of which an interesting account is given here) is possible; that they had in mind the example of their neighbor, Pennsylvania, is not unlikely, as the council there had ceased to exercise any legislative functions after 1701; that they found their legal warrant in their own belief that an upper house was "no part of our Constitution," since it was not mentioned in the charter, is expressly stated. The governor put up a successful fight against this audacious attempt and in the end it came to naught.

How far the Maryland assembly can be charged, as Professor Osgood thinks that other assemblies under like circumstances can be charged, with "crude and arbitrary methods," with "legislative absolutism," and with "an exaggerated sensitiveness regarding their liberties" cannot be stated in general terms. Dr. Pleasants speaks of the "animus" and "bad manners" of the house in the Ridout case and the same may be said of the quarrel over the appointment of commissioners. There are other instances also in which the assembly was accused by the governor of "a disregard of all Decorum and the obvious Rules of Equity." But the accusation need not be pressed too far. The story told in this volume is a story of warfare—a verbal warfare, it is true, but none the less bitter on that account—in which every advantage was taken and no quarter was given, particularly on the side of the assembly. Conferences were rare and of little use unless the upper house would give in; compromises and concessions were usually negative in their results. One feels at times that the lower house was protesting too often and too much; that the "burdens of the people" and the "mispending of the public money" were merely weapons in debate—pretexts in the mouths of politicians for the winning of power. The governor with considerable justice could say "of what Use in the Conduct of public Business can an explicit Communication of our Sentiments be when after it is made your whole Study and Views are to elude the Force of them by fallacious Reasoning and captious Animadversions indulge an Humour of Invective and insult with Rudeness when you can't refute or convince by Argument." That the assembly was at times brutal in its language and tortuous in its logic no one who has followed carefully the course of the conflict can reasonably deny.

There are a number of forms of procedure that might be discussed in comparison with similar forms elsewhere, such as the frequent use of the Committee of the whole House and the practice of two readings instead of

three in the passage of bills, but these forms are well known from other volumes of the assembly series, of which this is the twenty-fifth. One point at issue may be cleared up. The lower house said that before Fort Cumberland was built the site was occupied by storehouses of the Ohio Company of Virginia. Governor Sharpe branded this statement as a falsehood. But the lower house was right and the governor wrong.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Flight into Oblivion. By A. J. HANNA. Richmond, Va., Johnson Publishing Co., 1938. xiii, 306 pp. \$2.75.

Flight into Oblivion is a poetic designation for an event which was so highly dramatic that it challenges fiction. The subject in itself is intriguing, not only to the research scholar in historical lore, not only to the descendants of those who shared—though perhaps in less desperately dramatic fashion—in the creation of a state destined to oblivion, but also to the general reader. So thrilling, so breath-taking, so tense with narrow escapes were the flights of at least four of the leaders of the Confederacy that they might well vie with the most nerve-wracking tales or most melodramatic representations on the stage. As if to add to the unreal flavor, the efforts of three of them, Benjamin, Breckinridge, and Toombs, were crowned with success.

The plot of this particular drama, the final act of the larger drama of the entire Civil War, is easily sketched. The author sets the stage in the first chapter by presenting first his *dramatis personae*, and then sketches the removal of the Confederate capital to its first way-station, Danville, thus lending this Virginia town a slight and temporary—very temporary—distinction.

The second chapter is devoted to recounting the story of the peregrinations of the Confederate treasure, and, along with parts of Chapters Five and Six retells the tale of a sum of money so exaggerated that it has become almost mythical with such meticulous detail as to render unnecessary its further investigation. Chapter Five presents the capture and imprisonment of President Davis and Post-Master Reagan, and also the arrest of Vice President Stephens at his home in Georgia. The remainder of the book is devoted almost entirely to following the adventures of John C. Breckinridge, Secretary of War; of Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State, and of George Davis, last Attorney-General of the ill-fated republic. The final chapter completes the story by recording the post-war histories of all the other men who at one time or another filled posts in the Davis cabinet—seventeen in all.

The volume is elaborately and attractively illustrated with black and white sketches by Mr. John Rae and by a dozen pen and ink maps, on which the routes of the various fugitives are exactly plotted. The publishers are to be congratulated on offering so attractive a volume, clearly printed in readable type, and in achieving a popular book with no sacrifice of scholarship. It is a credit to the publisher as well as author.

But there are some criticisms which should fairly be made in regard to these illustrative aides. The maps, while distinctly helpful, would be more so, in the opinion of this reviewer, if they had been fewer, but better assembled, so to speak; that is, if there had been one map to illustrate the flight of

each person or party. The reader is left to stumble on the fact that certain places which he has been vainly seeking can be located on a second map. In other words, one large, full-page map might well have replaced two smaller ones. At least, a table of the maps at the beginning of the book would have been in order to guide the reader as to what aids were available.

The research is worthy of commendation. The author has had access to first-hand material, some of it in private possession, to manuscript collections in Washington, and has had the opportunity of personal interviews with many persons who in one way or another were helpful. He has used his materials to good advantage, for he has absorbed the details until they impart a camera-like vividness to his tale. The reviewer has in mind such instances as the way the cabinet dined at Greensboro (p. 30-32), the way Governor Vance dressed his hair (p. 41), and the feast of "fish, bread and clabber," on which the members of Davis's baggage train "feasted sumptuously." The author also succeeds in presenting an account obviously based on diaries without reducing it to a mere catalog of events. It is written with real literary skill, whereby Mr. Hanna reproduces the atmosphere of a given locality, as on the Suwanee River (pp. 130-131), and on the Indian River (pp. 156, 172), where he paints the torture of the insects until the reader suffers with General Breckinridge and his party and is reduced to the point where he is glad that he is not that black ox which had such a special attraction for the mosquitoes that he was covered with blood.

On the whole, here is an admirable subject, long waiting for the hand of the historian, which has now received admirable treatment.

ELLA LONN.

* * *

Chapter VI of *Flight into Oblivion*, is largely based on the diary of Tench Francis Tilghman, native of Talbot County, who had been an engineer in the Confederate service in Richmond. Written while he was in charge of part of the baggage train of the fleeing Southern officials, the narrative has been edited by Dr. Hanna and appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII, [159]-180 (Jan. 1939) under the title "Confederate Baggage Train Ends its Flight in Florida." The manuscript is owned by Tilghman's grandson, Dr. Tench F. Tilghman of St. John's College, Annapolis.—EDITOR.

The Bonapartes in America. By. C. E. MACARTNEY and GORDON DORRANCE. Philadelphia, Dorrance, 1939. 286 pp. \$3.00.

Beginning with the obvious parallel between the marriage of Wallis Warfield Simpson to the present Duke of Windsor and of Elizabeth Patterson to Jerome, brother of Napoleon, this book traces the history of the Bonaparte clan in this country from the redoubtable Betsy's tragic romance to the present. The ramifications of this labyrinthine tale are thus compressed between the covers of one volume, though little of importance has been added to what already is known of it.

More than ten years are said to have gone into the preparation of the work, but there is scant evidence of extensive research in Baltimore where its roots are contained. The portrait of William Patterson's wayward daughter as "a cold, calculating person" has been more convincingly drawn by Susan Ertz

in *No Hearts to Break*, and many readers probably will question the wisdom of the device of presenting her grandson, the late Charles Joseph Bonaparte, largely through the eyes of Paul M. Burnett, his quondam law partner, and of the late Dr. Joseph Irwin France, his friend and political associate.

The most interesting chapter in the book probably is the one devoted to the Murats. Here the authors succeed admirably in evoking a flesh and blood Achilles, with his curious aversion to water, and here is to be found some of the best writing in the book.

Collaborations are always difficult. If the present one falls short of the ideal synthesis, it does no more than most literary dualisms. To balance certain weaknesses of style it has an excellent format and is embellished with old portraits and engravings.

John Hanson of Mulberry Grove. By J. BRUCE KREMER. New York, Albert & Charles Boni, Inc., 1938. 188 pp. \$2.50.

John Hanson and the Inseparable Union. By JACOB A. NELSON. Boston, Meador Publishing Company, 1939. 146 pp. \$2.

Mr. Kremer's *John Hanson of Mulberry Grove* and Mr. Nelson's *John Hanson and the Inseparable Union* have much in common. Not only are they on the same man (often referred to as the first president of the United States), but they also appeared about the same time, and as far as can be ascertained neither author knew of the other's work. The two books are approximately the same length, neither boasts an index and both authors are lawyers. Mr. Kremer supplies a bibliography while Mr. Nelson suggests that "should any reader of this book desire a bibliography, it may be obtained from the author free of charge, or from the publishers at a very nominal cost" (pp. 13-14). This offer, unfortunately, will not be of much help to readers in the years to come, for books are prone to survive both authors and publishers.

Judging from these two books it would seem that a little research into Hanson's dates would be justified. Mr. Nelson says that Hanson was born April 3, 1721 (p. 32) and died November 15, 1783 (p. 143). Mr. Kremer gives the dates as April 3, 1715 (p. 69) and November 22, 1783 (p. 171) while the *Dictionary of American Biography* gives them as April 13, 1721 and November 22, 1783. Mr. Nelson's book contains a facsimile of a portion of the page from the *Maryland Gazette* dated November 21, 1783 (facing p. 144), which reads in part: "On Saturday last departed this life, at Oxenhill, the seat of Mr. Thomas Hanson, in the sixty-third year of his age, the honourable John Hanson, Esq. . . ." "Saturday last" would have been the 15th of the month and "in the sixty-third year of his age" would make 1721 plausible for the year of his birth.

Neither are the two authors in perfect accord as to Hanson's burial place although it is known that he died at Oxon Hill not far from his estate Mulberry Grove. Mr. Kremer, who now owns Hanson's old estate, says in his book "It seems probable that he was buried on his nephew's estate, as would have been the custom. If so even the exact location of his grave is lost to time" (p. 171). Mr. Nelson, however, says "The location of John Hanson's grave . . . has only recently been found . . . at Oxon Hill . . ." (pp.

143-4). The grave may, of course, have been located after the appearance of Mr. Kremer's book.

Both Mr. Kremer and Mr. Nelson stress the stand of the Maryland delegates on the "Western Land Question." They make much of the fact that Maryland laid no claim to this land advocating that it be used for the good of all the states, but they say little or nothing about the fact that Maryland had no legitimate claim to this land for she was one of the few states whose western boundary was definitely fixed by her charter.

In Mr. Kremer's book (facing p. 168) there is a curious error in the caption under a facsimile of a letter. The caption reads "Letter to John Hanson from Daniel of St. Thos. Jenifer." The letter is obviously from Hanson to Jenifer.

There are a number of points of interest to the critical reader in both books. For example Mr. Kremer (p. 76) says "About forty miles up river from St. Mary's another stream empties into the Potomac. It had been named Port Tobacco Creek." Captain John Smith on his map of 1606 at this place has the name Patapaco. The name Port Tobacco was not given to the creek; it was the result of folk etymology working on what was apparently an Indian place-name. Again, Mr. Nelson (p. 83) referring to Washington's appointment as commander-in-chief of the American army makes the astute observation that "There was now every indication that the struggle would continue until its final conclusion."

It is obvious after reading these two books that there is not sufficient material available on Hanson to warrant a book length biography. Both Mr. Kremer and Mr. Nelson have resorted to background, history, and genealogy in order to pad out this interesting but elusive Marylander. Mr. Kremer even goes so far as to devote his closing chapter to "The Scandinavian Influence in America." Generally speaking he stresses the Hanson family while Mr. Nelson emphasizes Maryland's part in the Western Land question. Both books should be of interest, especially to Marylanders, for the too often overlooked phase of the civil history of the Revolution which they depict. Quite readable as popular biography, neither is of much value to the serious student.

J. LOUIS KUETHE.

Maryland Revolutionary Records; Data Obtained from 3050 Pension Claims and Bounty Law Applications including 1000 Marriages of Maryland Soldiers and a List of 1200 Proved Services of Soldiers and Patriots of Other States. By HARRY WRIGHT NEWMAN. Washington, the Compiler, 1938. 155 pp. \$4.50.

Mr. Newman, who is a member of this Society, is by profession a genealogist. As such, he has examined all the original pension applications of Maryland veterans of the Revolution on file with the Federal government, and has left out only veterans identified as negroes or as married to non-white wives. For each claim he has made from the sworn application a complete digest, including all clues for genealogist or historian. The cases treated fall naturally into five classes, Revolutionary pensions, Revolutionary land claim-

ants, Revolutionary non-pensioners, Revolutionary marriages, and non-Maryland Revolutionary soldiers. The present book consists of one-line resumé of each case in the five classes, arranged alphabetically. Anyone wishing a guide to Maryland's Revolutionary bounty and pension claims and further aid in genealogical research will find them in this modest compilation.

ELIZABETH MERRITT.

Among the many publications written for the Delaware tercentenary celebration in 1938, Christopher Ward's *New Sweden on the Delaware* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938. 160 pp. \$1.50), is one of the most readable. A condensation of his *The Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware, 1609-64*, published in 1930, the author relates the story of the first settlement in 1638 and the colony that was successfully established at that time. The *Delaware Tercentenary Almanack & Historical Repository* (Delaware Tercentenary Commission, 1938, unpagéd) is a delightfully illustrated little volume with important or amusing events selected for each day of the year. Sunday, July 31, 1837, First railroad train runs from Baltimore to Wilmington. Thursday, August 18, 1737, George II of England orders Maryland and Pennsylvania to cease hostilities over boundaries.

Old Swedes Church, of Wilmington, steeped in the memories of two hundred and forty-one years, still stands today very much as it was built in 1698 of stone and brick and wood, and "with lime brought from Maryland by water in a sloop by James Lownes, and delivered unslacked." The account of its building, and of the congregation at that time, is told in an interesting volume by Charles M. Curtis and Charles L. Reese, Jr., in *Old Swedes Church, Wilmington, Delaware 1698-1938* (Delaware Tercentenary Commission, 1938, 52 pp.). Still another volume published by the Commission contains three papers on colonial Delaware. *Delaware—the First State in the Union* by George H. Ryden (Delaware Tercentenary Commission, 1938, 33 pp.) is a brief study of the part Delaware played in the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia and of the subsequent ratification of the constitution by the Delaware convention. Among the five delegates from Delaware, John Dickinson and George Read, the head of the deputation, were the most outstanding. Both these distinguished gentlemen were born in Maryland, as was Richard Bassett, another of the delegates. John Dickinson, the author of the famous "Farmer letters" was born in Talbot County, while the others came from Cecil County. The second paper by M. M. Daugherty on *Early Colonial Taxation in Delaware* (51 pp.), is an explanation of the fiscal system in use from the first settlements of the Swedes to the time of the Revolution, showing how the life of the times and the experiences of the people conditioned the system which evolved. The last paper on *Colonial Military Organization in Delaware, 1638-1776* (55 pp., appendix), by Leon de Valinger, Jr. treats in detail of the Swedish and Dutch periods, the early English military system and the various colonial wars during the English period.

EDITH G. BOND.

Correction. In Mr. Francis B. Culver's review of the book *From Mill Wheel to Plowshare*, an account of the Orndorff family, published in the *Magazine* for June (p. 200), there were printed through error certain statements for which the reviewer had supplied revised texts. Owing to this confusion, for which the editor offers sincere apologies, it appeared that Christian Orndorff II, of "Mount Pleasant" on the Antietam, "was a Captain in the Maryland Line, serving until the close of the War." As Mr. Culver points out, this is a time-honored error which the volume in question has corrected. The second Christian Orndorff was a major in the 36th Battalion, Frederick County militia, a member of the Committee of Observation and member of the Committee of Safety. It was his son, Christian III, born in Pennsylvania in 1760, who at age 16, entered the Continental Army as 2nd Lieutenant in Captain John Reynold's Company of the Maryland "Flying Camp," his commission being dated July 18, 1776. He was in the battles of Harlem Heights, White Plains and was taken prisoner at the surrender of Fort Washington, having in the meanwhile been promoted to a Captaincy. He was exchanged on November 1, 1780. Soon afterward, while visiting his father on leave, he unearthed a Tory conspiracy to raise troops to fight under the British flag and was instrumental in bringing the leaders to trial and execution. He then joined the 6th Maryland Regiment as Captain under Colonel Otho Holland Williams and was present at the surrender of Cornwallis. He served as a Major in an expedition against the Indians on the Western frontier in 1794, was allowed a pension (for Revolutionary War Service) in 1818 and died on October 1, 1824 at his plantation in Washington county, Maryland. He was the father of five children, and his eldest son, Perry Orndorff, served under General William Henry Harrison.

Federal Archives in Maryland. As the result of a W. P. A. survey of local federal archives there is being published a series of some value to historical students. This is the *Inventory of Federal Archives in the States. No. 19, Maryland.* Baltimore, the Survey, 1938-1939. So far eleven mimeographed volumes have appeared, covering records in this State of Federal Courts, and of the departments of the Treasury, War, Navy, Justice, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Veterans Administration and Farm Credit Administration. The most important are those of the Bureau of Customs, Treasury Dept., which reveal the presence at Annapolis of a register of vessels, 1774 to 1797, a manifest of departures 1745 to 1849, vessels entering 1801 to 1812, and similar records at the Hall of Records for Patuxent District beginning in 1745, and Port of Nottingham beginning 1789. Records in the Baltimore Custom House embrace entrances and clearances, 1780 to 1933; registrations, carpenter certificates, 1790-1910, (in bundles); applications for letters of marque 1812-1815, records of ports of Chester and Havre de Grace, and various other series.

The inventory of naval material affords insight into the valuable collections at the Naval Academy where there is a collection of ships' logs occupying 9 feet of shelf space, collection of Washington manuscripts and a collection of drawings, charts and photographs. (Photos are said to date from 1814!).

War Department records in the State include detailed accounts of engineering works, the building for Fort Carroll and improvements at Fort McHenry, ordnance reports and expenses beginning as early as 1801, and various returns of other branches of the service dating from 1860. Few of the many series to which these volumes furnish keys are accessible to the public and many contain merely minutiae that have no interest outside the office of origin.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Among gifts of special interest recently received by the Society are the following:

Four ledgers presented by the Baltimore Transit Company containing the minutes of these turnpike companies: (1) Baltimore and York Town Turnpike Road, 1807 to 1813, and (2) 1861 to 1909; (3) Baltimore and Harford Turnpike Company, 1816 to 1937, with various gaps, and (4) the Charles Street Avenue Company, 1864 with breaks to 1936. These exhibit the history of some of the most important roads in this section from the inception of the corporations that built them to their final dissolution, with exception of the lapses in the records, and furnish interesting data regarding the engineering work, rights of way, contracts, materials used, state and county aid, and labor costs. The first record named above lists the 150 original subscribers to the company.

An interesting study of the early kitchens of the Pennsylvania Germans may be found in the *Proceedings and Addresses* of the Pennsylvania German Society for 1937, published in the current year. Henry K. Landis of the Landis Valley Museum of Lancaster, has made available in this 124-page paper, lavishly illustrated with photographs of interior and exterior views, furniture and utensils, the results of long-continued investigation in this field in which the Museum specializes. Copies of the publication are available in the library of the Society and at other local libraries.

PROVINCIAL AND GENERAL COURT SERIES OF JUDGMENTS IN THE HALL OF RECORDS

The Provincial and General Court Series of Judgments in the Hall of Records at Annapolis numbers in all 110 libers. A three volume index, made many years ago, gives partial access to the contents of these libers. Since the Hall of Records was opened, on October 1, 1935, ten of these libers have been meticulously indexed on cards, each name mentioned in each liber being noted whenever it occurs. Eventually the entire series will be similarly carded, but this will necessarily take considerable time. The libers are numbered serially from 1 to 105 (two having two parts each). There are also three pieces that have no serial number. The list of libers with the years covered in each piece is as follows:

JUDGMENTS

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. W.C. 1679-1684 | 45. D.D. 1 1760-1761 |
| 2. T.G. 1682-1702 | 46. D.D. 2 1761-1762 |
| 3. D.S. A 1684-1687 | 47. D.D. 3 1762-1763 |
| S.S. 1688-1689 | 48. D.D. 4 1763 |
| 4. D.S. C 1692-1693 | 49. D.D. 5 1762-1764 |
| 5. T.L. 1 1694-1696 | 50. D.D. 6 1764 |
| 6. H.D. 1 1694-1729 | 51. D.D. 7 1764-1765 |
| 7. I.L. 1698 | 52. D.D. 8 1765 |
| W.T. No. 3 1699-1701 | 53. D.D. 9 1765 |
| W.T. No. 4 1702 | 54. D.D. 10 1765-1766 |
| 8. T.L. 3 1703-1705 | 55. D.D. 11 1766 |
| 9. T.B. 2 1705-1706 | 56. D.D. 12 1767 |
| 10. P.L. 1 1706-1707 | 57. D.D. 13 1767-1768 |
| 11. P.L. 2 1707-1709 | 58. D.D. 14 1768 |
| 12. P.L. 3 1709-1710 | 59. D.D. 15 1768-1769 |
| 13. T.P. 2 1711-1712 | 60. D.D. 16 1769-1770 |
| 14. I.O. 1 1712-1713 | 61. D.D. 17 1770-1771 |
| 15. V.D. 1 1713-1716 | 62. D.D. 18 1771-1772 |
| 16. V.D. 2 1716-1717 | 63. D.D. 19 1773-1774 |
| 17. V.D. 3 1717-1718 | 63A. D.D. No. 20 1774-1776 |
| 18. P.L. 4 1718-1719 | 64. D.D. 21 1775-1778 |
| 19. W.G. 1 1719-1722 | 65. I.E. A 1778-1785 |
| 20. P.L. 7 1722-1724 | 66. T.B.H. 1 1779-1780 |
| 21. W.G. 2 1724-1726 | 67. T.B.H. 2 1781-1782 |
| 22. R.B. 1 1727-1728 | 68. T.B.H. 3 1782 |
| 23. R.B. 2 1729-1731 | 69. J.E. 1782-1786 |
| 24. R.B. 3 1731-1732 | 70. T.B.N. 4 1788 [<i>sic</i> ; 1783] |
| 25. W.G. 3 1732-1733 | 71. I.E. B 1785-1787 |
| 26. E.I. 1 1734-1735 | 72. I.E. C 1787 |
| 27. E.L. [<i>sic</i> ; E.I.] 2 1735-1737 | 73. I.E. D 1787-1789 |
| 28. E.I. 4 1737-1738 | 74. I.E. E 1788 |
| 29. E.I. 5 1738-1739 | 75. I.E. H 1789 |
| 30. E.I. 6 1739-1741 | 76. I.E. I 1789-1790 |
| 30A. E.I. 7 1742-1744 | 77. I.E. F 1790 |
| 31. E.I. 9 1744-1748 | 78. I.E. G 1790 |
| 32. E.I. 10 Vol. 1 1745-1748 | 79. I.E. J 1790-1795 |
| 33. E.I. 10 Vol. 2 1745-1748 | 80. I.E. L 1793 |
| 34. E.I. 11 1748-1749 | 81. J.D. 1793-1797 |
| 35. M.M. 1 1749-1760 [<i>sic</i>] | 82. J.E.M. 1794 |
| 36. E.I. 13 1750-1751 | 83. B.W. 7 1797-1799 |
| 37. E.I. 14 1751-1753 | 84. J.E. H 1798 |
| 38. E.I. 15 1753-1754 | 85. J.E. Q 1798-1799 |
| 39. G.S. 1 1755 | 86. J.E. R 1799 |
| 40. B.T. 1 1756 | 87. T.D.M. 1 1788 |
| 41. B.T. 2 nd 1756 | 88. T.D.M. 2 1789 |
| 42. B.T. 2 1757 | 89. T.D.M. 3 1790 |
| 43. B.T. 3 1757-1759 | 90. B.W. 1 1795 |
| 44. B.T. 5 1759-1760 | 91. B.W. 2 1795-1796 |

92. B.W. 4	1796-1797	99. ————	1801
93. B.W. 5	1796	100. B.W. 10	1800-1801
94. B.W. 6	1797-1798	101. B.W. 10A	1801-1802
95. B.W. 6A	1797-1798	102. B.W.	1802-1803
96. B.W. 7	1797-1798	103. J.P. A	1814-1818
97. B.W. 3	1798-1801	104. Judicials	1804-1807
98. B.W. 9	1799	105. Bonds I.E.A.	1778-1791

It should be noted that liber 6 of this series has not been carded as this liber was published under the editorship of Chief Judge Carroll T. Bond, with the title *Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695-1729* (The American Historical Association, Washington, D. C., 1933), and names occurring therein have been indexed. Cards will eventually be made, however, for this liber.

Consultation of this series as well as of all other materials in the Hall of Records, is, of course, free. Photostat copies can be made of any materials desired at the rate of fifty cents per photostat sheet. When two pages of the original liber (say, pages 2-3, or 10-11) are in juxtaposition, they can be photostated on one sheet. Materials can be typed at the rate of 12½ cents per hundred words. Sealed certification of the accuracy of any copy is made for twenty-five cents. Receipts are covered into the Treasury of the State and do not accrue to the Hall of Records.

The Judgments contain material of value to historians, economists, sociologists, and genealogists. Considerable use has been made of them.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

Otho Holland Williams Papers — A calendar of the papers of Otho Holland Williams has for some time been in preparation by the Historical Records Survey, and will shortly appear. It is hoped that it will include, not only the contents of the seven volumes, now bound and in use, but also that of five hundred or more pieces hitherto not available to the members. These later pieces make the Papers as a whole vastly more valuable and more interesting. Possibly they, too will be mounted and bound and placed beside the others.

Latrobe and the Washington Monument. In the commentary accompanying the papers relating to the Washington Monument, published in the *Magazine* for June, there appeared on page 159 a reference to Benjamin H. Latrobe's criticism of Mills with the suggestion that the former might have been one of the unsuccessful contestants for the honor of designing the Monument. The surmise was based on Robert Gilmore's letter which followed (page 160). In this connection Mr. Ferdinand C. Latrobe, II, calls attention to a statement of B. H. Latrobe in a letter to Maximilian Godefroy under date of April 1, 1810, an extract of which appeared in this Magazine, Vol. 29, page 208. Latrobe, after congratulating Godefroy on being asked to submit plans for the Monument, stated that he had had no letter from the managers and added: "I will never enter into a competition which your superiority of talent, as well as my most sincere affection for your person render impossible." This appears to eliminate Latrobe as an entrant in the contest.

A genealogy of the Warfield family, under the title *Captain Richard Warfield and His Descendants* is in course of preparation by Mr. Francis B. Culver, a member of the Society, who will welcome correspondence with interested persons. As stated in the printed prospectus, Joshua D. Warfield's *The Warfields of Maryland* is now out of print and data that have become available since that work was published 40 years ago, afford occasion for a new presentation. Mr. Culver's address is 1226 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md.

A study of the life and works of William Henry Rinehart, sculptor, protégé of the Walters and founder of the Rinehart scholarships at the Maryland Institute, is announced for early publication. The author is William Sener Rusk, a native of Baltimore, who has contributed from time to time papers about Rinehart to this *Magazine*. Besides a biography and Rinehart's letters, the book will include a description of his works and an account of the various sculptors who have held Rinehart scholarships. Printed on hand made paper and containing numerous photographs of the artist's works, it is to be published by Norman T. A. Munder of Baltimore.

Alexander and Azel Warfield—Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, 1905, p. 374, Article on Dorsey, says "Ann Dorsey (of Henry)—Davidge Warfield (of Azel)." *Colonial Families of United States.*, 1920, vol. 7, p. 49, article on Dorsey-Ball, says "7² Ann m. Davidge Warfield (of Azel)."

Davidge Warfield was the *son* of Alexander and *brother* of Azel. *Proof: Warfields of Maryland*, of which there are *two* editions both bearing date of 1898, gives in one edition p. 48, "He (Edward Warfield) married Mary, daughter of Davidge Warfield, of Alexander and Dinah (Davidge) Warfield"; also p. 59, "Davidge Warfield, of Alexander and Dinah (Davidge) Warfield, was his father's executor. He located upon 'Snowden Manor,' and married Ann Dorsey of Henry."

The other edition, p. 43, says, "Davidge Warfield, of Alexander and Dinah Davidge, was his father's executor. He bought a portion of Snowden's Manor, adjoining his *brother Azel's*, and married Ann Dorsey of Henry." Also p. 49, "Azel b. 1726 and Davidge b. 1729" are listed as children of Alexander.

The will of Alexander Warfield dated June 12, 1773, leaves property to "my son Davidge," and appoints him one of his executors. (Annapolis, Will Records, liber W. D. # 4: Book 39, folio 453, 1773-1775.)

Queen Caroline Parish Register, p. 203-4, records that Davidge Warfield, son of Alexander and Dinah was born Feb. 15, 1729. Copy in Md. Hist. Society Library.

An old Warfield manuscript inherited by me from my father, Cecilius Edwin Warfield, the great grandson of Davidge, records in three different places that Davidge was the son of Alexander. The probable explanation of the printed errors is that in the *Founders of Anne Arundel*, published 1905, the author or printer made a slip putting "Azel" for "Alex." and *Colonial Families*, published 1920, followed the mistake.

(Rev.) J. OGLE WARFIELD,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Owings; Frost—I am compiling genealogies of the Owings family of Baltimore County and the Frost family of Howard County and shall be glad to exchange information with persons interested in these families.

DONNELL M. OWINGS,
1513 Lafayette Ave., Mattoon, Illinois.

Mounts and Howard—I desire to express my appreciation of the *Mounts* data on page 204 of the June issue of the *Magazine*. I am one of the descendants of Col. Providence Mounts, and I have much data on this family. Thomas, a Revolutionary patriot, is buried in Switzerland County, Indiana, and his grave is so marked by our D. A. R.

The Mounts of Virginia and Maryland intermarried with Carpenter and Howard families, and we find many of these allied families in Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky. Mountstown, in Morgan County, Ohio, was founded by my direct ancestor. I will be glad to correspond with readers who desire Mounts data.

If new data is discovered on *Rezin Howard*, French and Indian War soldier of Frederick County, Maryland, member of All Saints Parish (very early), please let me know. Also the *Denune* family alliance. He married Esther Ashbrook, widow of John and became a large land-owner of Hampshire County, Virginia, near Romney.

(Mrs.) IDA HELEN MCCARTY,
Pennville, Indiana.

Forester. Data and ancestry desired of John Forester, b. ca. 1775 in Maryland, d. February 1857, Muskingum County, Ohio. Married Hannah Adams, date not known, probably of Pennsylvania. He served with Ohio Militia in War of 1812 and was sometimes known in Muskingum County, Ohio, as "John Foreacre." His two sons were Elijah and John. A brother is believed to have been William.

D. M. FORESTER,
Bin 151, Yuma, Arizona.

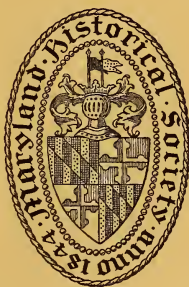
Tarleton—Who was the immigrant ancestor of the Tarleton Family of Maryland? Will any one having *any* information concerning this family communicate with me?

ANNA L. (Mrs. A. L.) FISHER,
Burnside, Kentucky.

Lamar—I desire the record of military service in Revolutionary War of William Bishop Lamar, of Frederick Co., Maryland, born 8-3-1745, died 8-29-1812, married Elizabeth Smith in 1767.

(Mrs. ROBT. E.) LILLIAN E. JOHNSON,
516 N. Irving St., Arlington, Va.

The Maryland Historical Magazine



DECEMBER · 1939

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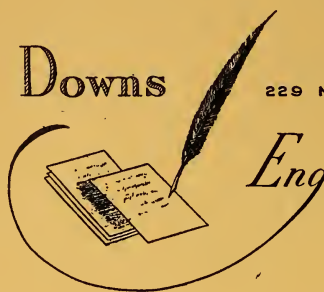
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The Maryland Historical Magazine is published in March, June, September and December of each year. Entered as second class matter April 24, 1917, at the post office at Baltimore Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXXIV.

DECEMBER, 1939.

No. 4.

THE LIFE OF RICHARD MALCOLM JOHNSTON IN MARYLAND, 1867-1898 ¹

By FRANCIS TAYLOR LONG

Richard Malcolm Johnston, lawyer, educator, writer, was born March 8, 1822, in Hancock County, Georgia, and died Sept. 23, 1898, in Baltimore, Maryland. On both the paternal and the maternal side his ancestors were Virginians. His great grandfather, the Rev. Thomas Johnston, a native of Annandale, Scotland, who before leaving England had already taken orders in the Anglican Church,

¹ Since this version of the life of Richard Malcolm Johnston in Maryland has been condensed from a much longer and more detailed unpublished narrative, only a few of the most important phases of this portion of his life can be presented here. At times, unfortunately, such condensation leads to an objectionable lack of proportion and perspective, if not to actual distortion. The author earnestly desires that the reader will keep this fact in mind.

Without the active and sympathetic coöperation of Miss Ruth Johnston, of Baltimore, the only living daughter of Richard Malcolm Johnston and his literary executor, much of the personal data and hitherto unpublished material, even in this brief account, would not have been available. Most cordial thanks are extended to her for her unflinching efforts in suggesting and providing much indispensable matter through personal interviews, letters and otherwise. Thanks are due also to Mr. and Mrs. Ray C. Faught, of Baltimore, especially to Mrs. Faught, who has been enabled at times to assist by copying and securing important data; to the Enoch Pratt Free Library, of Baltimore, whose courteous and efficient management has kept available at all times its rich and pertinent resources; and to several residents of Baltimore and elsewhere—too numerous to be referred to here, except in this general manner—who have generously and cheerfully assisted in various ways.

Miss Ethel White, of Baltimore, kindly contributed the use of the Edward Lucas White letter and report.

Mr. W. Kennedy Boone, of Baltimore, has graciously supplied the tentative list of names of students at Pen Lucy School while he was also a student there, 1880-1883. Further additions to this list—of names of students at Pen Lucy at any time during its existence—will be gratefully received by the author.

An excerpt from Sidney Lanier's letter to Johnston, Nov. 6, 1877, and the entire text of Lanier's letter to Johnston, Aug. 28, 1880, are from *Sidney Lanier* by Edwin Mims, by permission of the publisher, Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin Company, from which source other data has also been included here. The other Lanier letters are from the Enoch Pratt Free Library's recently acquired collection. Other sources of data include Johnston's *Autobiography* and the *Literary Estimate and Bibliography of Richard Malcolm Johnston* by Edmund Clarence Stedman and Stephen B. Weeks.

came first to Pennsylvania. He is represented as a man of very strong religious convictions. Later he made his home temporarily in Maryland, where he was rector of a parish in Prince George's County; but finally he came to Virginia as rector of the parish of Cornwall, Charlotte County. The eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Johnston, who had married Sallie Adamson after he came to Virginia, was named William. William Johnston, after having served in the Revolutionary War, moved in 1799 to Hancock County, Georgia, where he settled on a plantation—presumably a land grant—about four miles west of Powelton, the Dukesborough of the *Dukesborough Tales*. Malcolm Johnston, the younger of the two sons of William Johnston and Rebecca Mosely, had been born in Charlotte County, Virginia, in 1788, and was about eleven years old when his father moved to Georgia in 1799. Richard Malcolm Johnston, the son of Malcolm Johnston and Catherine Davenport, was born on the Johnston estate, which on account of the large number of oak trees surrounding the residence had come to be known as Oak Grove.

Young Johnston's early years were spent on this farm, where, as he relates in his *Autobiography*, his home life was in some respects—especially most of the Sundays—very nearly puritanical. His father, however, was reported by the son to have owned at one time as many as seventy slaves. Richard received very little schooling in his home, but most of his elementary training was gained in several neighboring old-field schools, this type of school having been a unique and picturesque educational institution of that day. His observation of and experience in these schools formed the basis of his first published story, "The Goosepond School," which appeared in Porter's *Spirit of the Times* in 1857. Not very long before his death, while he was employed in Washington, he wrote a brief history of these old-field schools, "Educational Life in Middle Georgia," which he prepared at the suggestion of United States Commissioner of Education William T. Harris, and this summary was published in the *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, 1894-95. His later school training was of a better type, at the Powelton Academy, one of the best of its kind in Georgia. For his collegiate education he was sent at the age of seventeen to the newly established manual labor school, Mercer Institute (now Mercer University, Macon), at Penfield, only twenty miles from his home. It was under the leadership of the Rev. Jesse Mercer, a prominent Baptist minister of that region, at whose suggestion Malcolm Johnston had become an ordained Baptist minister though he seldom preached, that Mercer Institute was established, and to the new school his name was given. This type of school, the

method and discipline of which was based upon that of the parent school at Hofwyl, Switzerland, was an educational fashion of that period which was rather generally adopted in the United States. Having entered Mercer as a sophomore, half advanced, in 1839, Johnston was one of three students who constituted the first graduating class of that institution in 1841. He appears to have received what may be termed first-honor ranking in that group.

Since his father's finances, on account of aid recently given to needy relatives, were then in a rather uncertain condition, Johnston began almost immediately after his graduation to teach, his first efforts having been made at Mt. Zion in Hancock County. After teaching there until the close of the year 1842, he decided to read law in the office of Henry Cumming at Augusta. He was admitted to the bar the following year, and upon his return to Hancock County formed his first partnership, that with Eli W. Baxter, of Sparta. Johnston at the age of twenty-two was married in November, 1844, to fifteen-year old Mary Frances Mansfield, of Sparta, whose father, Eli Mansfield, a native of New Haven, Connecticut, was a tailor. Having spent most of his time hitherto since his admission to the bar, as he himself asserts, in doing mainly clerical work and in reading Latin and English literature, he now returned to teaching at the Mt. Zion school. Early in 1847, however, he decided to study and practice law seriously and industriously, and with this aim in mind he entered into a partnership with James Thomas, of Sparta. During this time he gained a wider knowledge of both the theory and the practice of law, but in 1849 he returned again to teaching, this time at the Sparta Academy. After two years of teaching at Sparta, he returned again to the practice of law, having formed his third (and last) partnership with Linton Stephens, brother of Alexander H. Stephens. This apparently was the period during which Johnston most thoroughly enjoyed his legal work and associates, both of the Stephens brothers having become his intimate friends; for it was now that he came to be regarded as a lawyer "well grounded in principles and familiar with pleadings." Yet Johnston had no great desire to remain a lawyer, for he felt that he was deficient in certain qualifications which he believed a lawyer should possess. Having been defeated in his only political candidacy, that for a judgeship in the neighboring circuit, in 1857, by Judge Garnett Andrews, the candidate of the Know-Nothing Party, Johnston, a Democrat, although he could have been elected the following year by the Democratic legislature to which the election of judges had been remanded, decided to abandon both politics and the practice of law. Of two

other positions open to him at the time, one the presidency of his alma mater, Mercer University, and the other a recently vacated professorship of English literature in the University of Georgia, he chose the latter and entered upon his duties at Athens in the autumn of 1857.

For four years Johnston remained at the University of Georgia, enjoying his work there as fully as he could under the disciplinary requirements so generally demanded even of college teachers at that time. The greatest and main objection which he had against the work was the espionage required of teachers in enforcing discipline. The pleasant social life at Athens and his work in the classroom he mentions with zest and enjoyment. In addition to his classes in English literature he trained all the declaimers and speakers who appeared on the public programs. All evidences indicate that both he and Mrs. Johnston were popular members of the college community. When Georgia seceded from the Union, January 1861, Johnston, who had considered the action unwise and had so expressed himself, tendered his resignation to the board of trustees, who in accepting it adopted by unanimous vote an expression of regret. At the end of the collegiate year he moved to his estate at Rockby, near Sparta, where he opened a private boarding school for boys. This he conducted throughout the Civil War upon a system of honor and not of espionage, and the school became known favorably throughout the South. Though the school at Rockby weathered the storm of war, its chances of surviving during the Reconstruction era were naturally lessened. Johnston therefore decided, as other natives of Georgia and the South had already done, to escape the chagrin and perils of Reconstruction by leaving the South. In the summer of 1867 he moved to Maryland and reopened his school there under the name of the Pen Lucy School at Waverly, a suburb of Baltimore.

I. COUNTRY GENTLEMAN, TEACHER, AND WRITER, 1867-1881

When Richard Malcolm Johnston² finally decided to leave Georgia and to reside in Maryland, he had arrived at his fifty-fifth year. In reviewing his life in Georgia under the old régime and with the friends of his youth and middle life—a life which nearly everyone

² Though Johnston was invariably known among his friends as "Colonel" Johnston, for reason of brevity the title has here been discarded. It may be added that a careful examination by the State Historian, Mrs. J. E. Hays, of the records in the Department of Archives of the State of Georgia, Atlanta, has produced no evidence that Johnston's commonly known title "Colonel" had any relation whatever to a military appointment of Johnston to his personal staff by Georgia's Civil War governor, Joseph E. Brown,

of his stories indicates he had enjoyed—he came to the conclusion that with the social and political order in the South in almost complete upheaval he could not endure any longer the Reconstruction mode of existence. He therefore in June, 1867, at the conclusion of the last commencement held at Rockby, his estate near Sparta, where the school had been conducted since its establishment, accompanied by his wife and eight children—Malcolm, Mary Walton, Albon, Amy, Marianna, Richard, Ruth, and Effie, ranging in age from twenty-two to a year and a half—left their home in Georgia and made the long, tiresome journey by railway to Baltimore. Until Johnston could select a site for the reestablishment of his school, the family remained at Barnum's Hotel, probably the best known Baltimore hotel of that time.

Johnston and his family were not without friends, however, when they arrived in Baltimore; for the members of at least two families they had known as neighbors in Hancock County, the families of Edgar Dawson and Edgworth Bird, welcomed them. These two families had only recently found a place of refuge in Baltimore from the conditions they had found intolerable in Georgia. It was indeed through the financial aid of Edgar Dawson that Johnston had been enabled to go to Baltimore. These self-exiled Georgians found congeniality not only in each other's company but also in the atmosphere of Maryland, which, though a border state, had in large measure remained true to its Southern affiliation and tradition. Through the aid of these friends—especially the financial assistance supplied by Edgar Dawson—Johnston finally arranged to purchase from John W. Garrett a part of the particularly well situated and attractive estate of Chestnut Hill in Waverly, now a part of Baltimore but at that time a suburb just north of the city.

This Waverly estate, provided with a large residence, well wooded, well drained, admirably suited in its seclusion and in other particulars, could hardly have proved other than attractive to Johnston or to anyone else who had lived in the country; for the beauty of the Baltimore suburban landscape is proverbial. Here the family soon made its new home, and here also was reestablished the school, now

as has been suggested in print once or twice. The only record in these archives relating to Johnston is an original copy of a minor military request addressed to Major General Henry C. Wayne, June 1, 1864, and signed by Johnston as aide-de-camp to General Wayne. There appears to be no evidence that Johnston ever referred to a military title or ever claimed that he possessed such a title. There is evidence, however, that what may be termed a familiar title of "Colonel" (for Georgia probably has had as many "colonels" of this type as even Kentucky) was bestowed upon Johnston by his friends very early, probably soon after he began the practice of law.

christened Pen Lucy in memory of the frail but lovely daughter, Lucy, who had died only three years before the family had left Georgia. The first session opened auspiciously in September, 1867, with about forty students in attendance, most of them from the South. Johnston had succeeded in his first desire, that is, to attract to his school from the South as many students as he would normally secure were he still in Georgia. But, anticipating that the attendance from the South would gradually diminish, he also sought students from the Maryland area.

Of special interest in this connection is the list of persons whose names were used as references and were printed on the annual folder-prospectus sent out to patrons and prospective patrons of the school. Though Johnston very naturally and proudly placed at the head of the list the name of a very prominent Georgian, one of the best and most loyal of his Middle Georgia friends, Alexander H. Stephens, formerly vice-president of the Southern Confederacy, along with those of other Georgians, yet he added to the list at first, and more and more as the years passed, the names of prominent Baltimoreans and Marylanders. More than a hundred names are given in the list printed on the prospectus of July 15, 1875, those of Georgians being given precedence. Maryland names included the following:

From Waverly, Rev. William T. Johnston, Henry Hoen, W. S. Thompson; John E. Owens, Towson; Rev. D. E. Lyman, Govanstown; from Baltimore, His Grace Archbishop Bayley, Turnbull Brothers, F. W. Brune, Rev. A. Curtis, R. Gittings, Armstrong, Cator & Co., Maj. E. G. Dawson, A. J. Lowndes, Hon. S. T. Wallis, Maj. E. W. Hull, I. N. Steele, J. T. Crow, A. W. Machen, Hon. George W. Brown, John King Jr., B. C. Presstman, W. E. Bird, Philip Poullain, John W. McCoy, Norvell & Baxter, G. Ober, H. M. Warfield, Dr. R. McSherry, Dr. Van Bibber, Dr. J. J. Chisolm, Dr. R. S. Steuart, Dr. James A. Steuart, Dr. F. T. Miles, Hon. John A. Inglis, Neilson Poe, J. P. Poe, James A. Buchanan, T. J. Irving, Robert H. Small, J. T. Mason, W. Rowland.

In the Georgia division of the list which contains more names than any other, one may find the names of four men—Alexander H. Stephens, Charles J. Jenkins, Joseph E. Brown, John B. Gordon—who had been or who were later to become governors of Georgia.

Though it is obviously impossible now to reconstruct a complete list of names of students who attended the Pen Lucy School at Waverly—and later in Baltimore, at the southeast corner of North Avenue and Maryland Avenue—a list of some of the students who were in attendance from January, 1880, to June, 1883, when the

school was at the latter address, includes the following (mainly Baltimore) names:

Richard Cromwell, C. Hammond Cromwell, M. John Cromwell, H. Jenkins O'Donovan, J. Henry O'Donovan, Lewis Foley, Edmund Foster, Dennis Murphy, J. Wilcox Jenkins, Thomas C. Jenkins, Edward Donnelly, John N. Williams, Austin Jenkins, Francis Patterson, Edward Taylor, Charles Janin, Augustus Duke, George Robinson, Morgan Robinson, Andrew Middleton, Charles Wyeth, Lowell Poullain, Arthur Bosley, Edward Erickson, Michael S. Hill, Alfred J. Turner, Henry Dentry, George Dentry, Henry McComas, Edward Lucas White, Arthur Brown, William Brown, Sidney Brown, Henry Green, Nat Tyler, William Wyeth.

Since the school was to be the economic mainstay of the family in their new home, Johnston was careful to model it in every particular upon the school which he had conducted so successfully at Rockby by retaining each of the essential elements of that earlier school. Two of these distinctive features were, that it was a select private boarding school for boys (though day pupils were later accepted), over which Johnston and his wife presided as if it were a large family, and that it was in essence a classical school, devoted mainly to English, history, mathematics, Latin and Greek. To this certainly should be added the fact that music, both in theory and practice—for the school maintained its own student orchestra—was available for each student who desired it and was credited as a regular study. Piano, violin, and flute were apparently the music courses chiefly in demand.

Announcement was made on the folder (dated July 15, 1875) that the new school year at Pen Lucy would open September 16, a five-day holiday being given at Christmas and two days at Easter, and would close June 15, 1876. The site of the school is described as high and healthful and in an excellent neighborhood. The prospectus further affirms that

Pupils are treated, so far as practicable, as members of the family; and the experience of the undersigned [Johnston] has satisfied him and many excellent and distinguished persons whose sons and wards he has taught, from all sections of the country, especially the South, that it is not vain to expect and require even very young boys to understand, and appreciate, and practice the deportment of gentlemen. The discipline of the School and the House is strict; but it is guided by rules such as just and honorable and prudent men employ in their own families. No boy will be kept in the School who will not try to make reasonable improvement, or who cannot be made amenable to the obligations of honor.

These latter sentences contain the gist of the honor system which Johnston strove to maintain, a system which was perhaps the most

notable single feature of both his Rockby and Pen Lucy schools, and it is with a natural warmth of pride in the success of the school that he concludes:

The honorable positions which many of the pupils of the undersigned, in several States, have attained in Universities, Colleges, and afterwards in public and private life, lead him to increased confidence in presenting the claims of the School.

One of the Baltimore pupils at Pen Lucy during these years was Edward Lucas White, later a teacher and writer of distinction. Preserved among documents of the White family is a letter which the youthful Edward Lucas (at that time somewhat more than ten years old) wrote, under date of November 14, 1877, to his mother and grandmother in Baltimore. With its naïve punctuations and misspellings and boyish zest for things in general, the letter gives a delightfully interesting glimpse into the daily routine of the school and the relation between pupils and teachers:

thu. Nov. 14th, 1877

Dear Mama and Grandma:

I'm glad to know that evry thing has gone along nicely since I came away. I like scott [presumably Sir Walter Scott] a great deal better than I thought I should. I only have as yet six lessons a day they are, two geography lessons, two spelling lessons, and one arithmetic and latin grammar lesson. I say the arithmetic to Dr Wagoner [Wagner] and the others to the colenel [Johnston]. D.... C..... (commonly known as fatty) today stutered so at reading that the whole scool was in a laugh. A boy named Alphonse also makes evrybody laugh. he charges up to the blackboard as if he was takeing a city, with a cloth in one hand, and the chalk in the other. He dose not stob a minuet to listen, but puts down the numbers as if his life depended on being in a hurry, all the while rubing out his own and evry body elses sums. When he has got his anser he backs off to the other side of the scool room, and shouts it out, he is allways told not to speak so loud & not to make so much noise. Of all the boys I like F.... C..... the best. . . . I like I.. W..... only second best. E.. T.... is the most perfectly indiferent boy you ever saw, he cares no more for a boxing that makes boys of my age cry than a horse would mind your touching him. By the way I've made a bad example for Farther Lyman has a horse, and if you touch her she yells like helabaluu. I hope you are well and mama's foot is not bad, for I must finish now as I've got to write my composition, so goodby.

Edward Lucas White. O O O O O kisses for all.

A report card for this same pupil for April (presumably for the year 1877), with general average for March, indicates not only how excellent were his grades but also how emphatically classical was the school curriculum:

2nd Latin Translation.....	90 +
2nd Latin Composition.....	85 +
2nd Greek Translation.....	94
1st Rhetoric.....	94
2nd English Composition	92
2nd Catechism.....	95
1st Arithmetic.....	85
2nd Algebra.....	93
2nd Geometry.....	88
1st History, English.....	98 +
1st History, Ancient.....	95
General Average	91 8/11
General Average for March.....	89 1/4

With the presence during the school year of the students added to that of the rather large Johnston family, the life at Pen Lucy was always busy, interesting, and with such distinguished visitors as Alexander H. Stephens and others, as varied as such routine life could well be. The circle of friends, limited at first mainly to the families of the Dawsons, Birds and Poullains—all expatriates from Georgia—gradually expanded to include many friends from many places. The Johnstons and Birds, especially, were brought together by an additional attraction, their love of music. Both Mrs. Johnston and Mrs. Bird were accomplished pianists. Johnston himself could perform creditably on the flute, as could also his two older sons, Malcolm and Albon. Richard, the youngest son, was a student of the violin. They often joined in brief informal concerts within their homes, the younger members participating with their elders.

"They played duets upon the piano—Mozart, Hayden, Beethoven—and other music, the best music," says Miss Johnston. "My father also took part on these occasions, playing upon the flute, and his sons, Malcolm (the eldest) and Albon—three flutes, and later my brother Richard on the violin. These fine concerts were among my earliest recollections. My mother was an accomplished pianist, as was also Mrs. Charlton (my eldest sister) when she was young."

One of the most notable additions to this early group of friends was Sidney Lanier, who, when he first came to Baltimore in 1873, to join the Peabody Orchestra, was for a time the guest of the Bird family. He must naturally have met Johnston very soon after his arrival. Not only because of the fact that Lanier, like Johnston, was a survivor of the war and its resultant conditions but also because both men and their families were fond of music, the Laniers and

the Johnstons were soon intimate friends. It was thus that Johnston gained not the earliest but doubtless the most sympathetic and talented of the critics of his writings.

In this particular it should be recalled that others had also aided Johnston in regard to literature and writing. The earliest of these was undoubtedly Alexander H. Stephens, in Georgia, Johnston having published there anonymously his first volume of fiction, *Georgia Sketches*, in 1864. The earliest literary friends in Baltimore were Henry C. Turnbull Jr., of Turnbull Brothers, publishers, who issued the second enlarged edition of *Dukesborough Tales* (1874)—the first edition having evidently been privately printed (1871)—and William Hand Browne, who was a collaborator with Johnston in two volumes, *English Literature*, a manual for schools (1872), and the *Life of Alexander H. Stephens* (1878).

Pen Lucy, the hospitable home of the Johnstons, with its lordly chestnut trees of which Lanier was passionately fond, soon came to be a place where Lanier was sure of a welcome at any time. Lanier during the remaining years of his life often visited Pen Lucy to chat with the Johnston family and the students, who included in the course of time the three elder sons of Lanier. It was under these chestnut trees, with all the greenness and tranquillity which spring and summer brought to that lovely environment, that Johnston and Lanier talked much of writing and literature. It was here, too, that each of them, especially Johnston, did much writing, either on the shaded veranda or on the lawn.

Johnston, when he had first come to make his home at Pen Lucy, had soon formed the habit, whenever the weather was favorable, of sitting near the end of the northwestern part of the veranda, with its outlook not only upon the chestnut trees, the lawn and the flowers but also upon the cool woodland to the north, and with three large sycamores at the west to give protection from the glare and heat of the afternoon sun. There in a large rocking-chair he was accustomed to sit while he scribbled away, his feet usually resting comfortably upon the railing of the veranda. At other times he did his writing in his study indoors on the first floor of the residence. Whenever Lanier was at Pen Lucy and wished to write, Johnston, unless Lanier desired a different arrangement, would give the place on the veranda to Lanier while he himself had a large rocking-chair taken out and placed under one of the chestnut trees on the southern lawn and wrote there. Sometimes the two would exchange places. Whenever they wished to talk—no writing being done at the time—one would join the other, either on the lawn or the veranda. It was

all delightfully informal and companionable, conditions which highly pleased both of them.

Amid such quietude and restfulness, for which the entire village of Waverly—especially Pen Lucy, situated as it was at the northernmost limit of this suburb and virtually in the country—was noted, both Johnston and Lanier found a tranquillity and inspiration conducive alike to the growth of a deeper friendship and an increased literary activity. So began at Pen Lucy the years of intimate literary association between these two writers, and thus it happened that at times the brooding seclusion of the chestnut-embowered residence and lawns inclosed and fostered both of these former Georgians: one, the most sympathetic revealer in poetry of the life and spirit of his native State; the other, second to none of his fellow Georgia writers in his sketches and stories which mirrored humanly and faithfully the hearts of the rural folk of Middle Georgia.

Doubtless in one of these very friendly chats which the two were accustomed to enjoy at Pen Lucy, began the discussion of that, at the time, latest child of Johnston's brain, "Mr. Neelus Peeler's Conditions," with the constructive suggestions by which Lanier initiated his literary tutelage of Johnston.

Lanier, realizing the sterling quality of Johnston's knowledge and understanding of the Georgia country folk, secured the manuscript of this story from Johnston and read it thoroughly and critically. In the earliest letter from Lanier to Johnston of which there is record (Nov. 6, 1877), one may learn of the pleasure with which Lanier read Johnston's story, of the thoroughness with which he comprehended it with regard to plot, characters, setting and general details, and of the practical suggestions he offered his friend in regard to the revision of the manuscript. He paid a high tribute to Johnston's sense of humor and his insight into the hearts of the old-time Georgia folk:

. . . The story strikes me as exquisitely funny, and your reproduction of the modes of thought and of speech among the rural Georgians is really wonderful. The peculiar turns and odd angles, described by the minds of these people . . . are presented here with a delicacy of art that gives me a great deal of enjoyment. The whole picture of old-time Georgia is admirable, and I find myself regretting that its *full* merit can be appreciated only by that limited number who, from personal experience, can compare it with the original.

That Johnston was gratified by Lanier's sympathy, praise, and keen insight is indicated by the fact that he promptly revised the manuscript and held it for Lanier's reëxamination and approval. While

this work of revision was being completed by Johnston, Lanier wrote a second letter to Johnston within the same month:

55 Lexington St.,
Baltimore, Md.
May 27, 1877

My dear Colonel Johnston:

Your letter arrived while I was in New York, and only reached me after I came back.

Immediately on my return a severe haemorrhage kept me *hors du combat* for several days, and I am just now beginning to get about again. In answer to your kind inquiries about Charley: the brave little fellow has been quite kept under by the failure of his long-continued boil to heal, and is still suffering so much inconvenience from it that we have been afraid to start him to school.

I've just finished a long Christmas poem for "Every Saturday"; and have this moment sent off a "Song of the Chattahoochee" to a Georgia editress. The latter I particularly want to read to you.

Pardon a hasty note. Come in whenever you can, and let me see Mr. Neelus Peeler again before you send him off. I am in a cruel press of work and write in a shameful hurry.

Your friend,

Sidney L.

This letter is valuable not only for corroboration of Lanier's aid to Johnston in the criticism of "Mr. Neelus Peeler's Conditions," but also for its illumination of the cordial relations between the Lanier and Johnston families.

Lanier, not Johnston, submitted the revised and rewritten story to Richard Watson Gilder, then editor of *Scribner's Monthly*. Gilder accepted the manuscript, and Lanier, to whom the check in payment for the manuscript had been sent, in turn forwarded it to Johnston. Needless to say that the receipt of the first check ever paid him for any of his stories was an event of first importance to himself and his family, one which has been recalled by his daughter, Miss Ruth Johnston:

I remember him standing in glee before this fireplace [a large, open fireplace in the study at Pen Lucy on the first floor of the residence] and calling my mother, who always lived upstairs in her own room, except when at her domestic duties, saying, "Come, Fannie!" for he had in his hand the letter accepting his first story, "Neelus Peeler's Conditions."

Above all other literary benefits, such as technical criticism which the recipient may or may not have adopted, Johnston, through his friendship with Lanier, was encouraged to continue to write, to discover for himself that he could repeat his achievement in "Mr.

Neelus Peeler's Conditions" by writing additional stories which would prove salable. The quest of each of these two writers to secure some congenial employment that would afford even a mere subsistence—a struggle which had long engaged Lanier and was now, as the Pen Lucy attendance declined, beginning to involve Johnston—held a note of deep pathos and personal concern, as, for instance, in Lanier's letter to Johnston, May 21, 1878:

Westminster Hotel,
New York, May 21, 1878

My dear and only Richard:

I send a hasty line to say that the main person I desired to see is out of town and I have been obliged to follow him, so that I cannot be in place before Thursday next. This gives me a great deal of concern; but my quest here is of such vital importance to my future plans that it seems a duty not to abandon the field until every possibility is exhausted. If I succeed I shall have no more cause of disquiet for a year.

Whenever you have time please run by and cheer up my poor Little Girl, whom I left sadly unstrung by long illness. It is almost more than I can bear,—to be obliged to stay away from home for two days more.

God have you in his holy keeping,

S. L.

For Lanier, of whom Johnston is reported to have said: "He was the most cheerful man I ever knew," the concluding sentence of the foregoing letter contains what is almost a note of despair.

Other manifestations of the cordial relations that existed between the Lanier and the Johnston families, some of which have already been indicated, as well as of Lanier's sparkling and delicious sense of humor, are likewise suggested in a most illuminating letter from the poet to Johnston in August, 1878:

33 Denmead St.
Saturday Morning
[August, 1878]

It is a "drear interval," my dear Colonel,

I thought certainly I would be sitting under your trees with you this morning; but my boys, who have for a long time held me in abject servility through an unguarded promise I once made to take them somewhere on a steamboat at sometime—though I appeal to every well-regulated parent if the words "somewhere" and "sometime" have not been held, time out of mind, to deprive all such promises of moral obligation at any particular place or moment—found themselves yesterday arrived at such a pass that life seemed to have reduced itself to the formula "Steamboat or Suicide": and so, purely to avoid a dark and childless future I bundled 'em all off to Fair Haven. We returned at half-past nine last night, and straightway fell to wondering what horrible and grievous crime we had committed against Heaven, that It

should have brought you to our house on that one particular day out of the three hundred and sixty five when we were all absent.

My holiday moreover leaves me with double work today, and I fear I won't be able to get to you until Monday, when please Heaven, I will write some philosophy under your chestnuts. But meantime *you* might come *here* and smoke.

May is not at all well, and I am trying, in consultation with her this morning, to devise some method—consistent with the extreme attenuation of my purse—to get her into a different air from this.

Sidney has permission to stay until seven this afternoon, if he isn't in Mrs. Johnston's way. He has taken such a violent fancy to your abode, and to all the people in it, that he talks of little else. The other boys would go with him but one is not well—Harry—and Charley has some duties at home.

So, until I see you, God keep you and the chestnuts in such receipt of rain or of sunshine as your spirits may severally desire,—prays,

Your faithful

S. L.

At this point, 1880, in the correspondence between the Laniers and Johnston (for Mrs. Lanier had become as firm a friend to Johnston as had her husband), Mrs. Lanier wrote the first of her letters to Johnston that are preserved. The reason was that the poet, now nearing the end of his brief life, was too ill to write. The letter, written in January of that year, discloses the fact that Johnston too was ill at the same time:

Friday

[January, 1880]

Dear Col. Johnston:

Sidney is better, yet very sick: the least drawback might occasion a serious relapse. He is now relieved of the intense excitement of brain which forbade all sleep, and he eats with a fair relish. But the head is *touchy*, off in a moment: and sometimes come very sharp lung pains of a flitting nature. We do not like to hear of *you* sick too.

This Xmas card has lain in my desk, sealed, for 16 days—illness all the time on hand, & no messenger. Love to all, from

M. D. L.

It happens also that the next letter from the Laniers to Johnston was written by Mrs. Lanier, about two months later. Several important statements are made in it. Though no mention is made of the poet's health, from the very absence of such mention it may be inferred that he was in better health. The intimate tone and the spirit of profound friendship which permeates this is as notable as in the letters written by the poet himself, another intimation of the extremely cordial relations between the families:

1032 N. Eutaw St.
March 25, 1880.

My dear good friend:

I fairly groaned when I heard that a second kind visit from you was lost to me. Only that morning my heart had been pleading to stop and see you on my homeward way from church (where I had been only twice since Christmas); but the duty to call and inquire about the quarantined family at the Turnbull's—where Edwin has measles—took all the time available.

Since it may make me the glad instrument of forwarding one little desire of yours I am rejoiced that I was called to the opening consultation over the new Women's Club. As soon as a second meeting is appointed your friend's name shall be presented. Or more probably she will be summoned to that meeting. I carried my sympathy to help start the ball rolling; but am far too ill—were I less ignorant—to engage in the active work made a condition of the members. Of course the invitation to me was simply an act of homage to our Sidney.

Thank you, truest of friends, for admitting me to yesterday's sacred memories, and to your hope and faith. Sometimes I think that all I learn is my ignorance and spiritual poverty and collapse. Then again comes some new apprehension of *the Life indeed*, which fans the dull embers. You once wrote me a few words upon the deadly sin of despair, in midst of your own heart-rending, which have been pressed to my soul ever since, and have held it often within bounds. We do not know what work for others our own struggles may achieve—inward as they seem.

With none but dearest remembrances & warmest regards,

Yours ever faithfully,

Mary D. Lanier.

As to the friend of Johnston to whom reference is made in the foregoing letter, at this distance in time probably only a futile conjecture could well be formed. More interesting than the name of the friend is the revelation of the deep devotion of Mrs. Lanier to Johnston—paralleling and supplementing that of her husband—and her desire to extend to him any courtesy in her power. Another notable index of the cordial relations between Mrs. Lanier and Johnston, one which is found in at least one other letter of hers, is the use of *our*, as in the sentence, "Of course the invitation to me was simply an act of homage to our Sidney." In the very last letter (in this collection) from the Laniers to Johnston, which was written to him by Mrs. Lanier only a short time before his death, she refers, in offering him sympathy and condolence after the death of his wife, to the friendship which she expresses in behalf of her family as that of "mine and *our* boys." In the trust and confidence which they reposed in him, both Lanier and his wife regarded Johnston as if he were a member of their own family.

As to what, specifically, were the "sacred memories" to which Mrs. Lanier referred in her letter, it is perhaps useless to conjecture; but it is certain, from this and other statements cited, that both Mrs. Lanier and the poet were trusted friends of Johnston, and it seems likely that the reference may have been to Johnston's religious experiences—which had been varied, first, as a member of the Baptist Church; next as an Episcopalian, and finally as a Roman Catholic—especially those during the five years (since 1875) he had been a member of the Roman Catholic Church. There are numerous indications to suggest that it was not unusual for him to discuss religious matters with an intimate friend. He often talked such matters over with the Stephens brothers (both Linton and Alexander), Lanier, Alden, and Twain, and certainly with others not so prominent as these.

A third, and final, letter for the year 1880 is one of the most pleasing and appealing of all the letters written by Lanier to Johnston. It bears the date of August 28th. Beginning with a tribute to his friend—a delightfully playful yet discerning passage, done with typical Lanierian charm—the poet proceeds cleverly to refer, in the third paragraph, to the recent birth of his fourth and last son, Robert Sampson Lanier, then weaves in a reference to Johnston's fiction writing and a note of encouragement upon the wider acceptance his fiction is gaining, and finally closes with a note of gratitude and a benediction to "my best and only Richard":

West Chester, Pa.,
August 28, 1880.

My dear and sweet Richard,—It has just occurred to me that you were *obliged* to be as sweet as you are, in order to redeem your name, for the other three Richards in history were very far from being satisfactory persons, and something had to be done. Richard I, though a man of muscle, was but a loose sort of swashbuckler after all; and Richard II, though handsome in person, was "redeless," and ministered much occasion to Wat Tyler and his gross following; while Richard III, though a wise man, allowed his wisdom to ferment into cunning and applied the same unto villainy.

But now comes Richard IV, to wit, you—and, by means of gentle loveliness and a story or two, subdues a realm which I foresee will be far more intelligent than that of Richard I, far less turbulent than that of Richard II, and far more legitimate than that of Richard III, while it will own more, and more true loving subjects than all of those put together.

I suppose my thoughts have been carried into the details of nomenclature by your reference to my own young Samson, who, I devoutly trust with you, shall yet give many a shrewd buffet and upsetting to the Philistines. Is it not wonderful how quickly these young fledgelings impress us with a sense

of their individuality? This fellow is two weeks old to-day, and every one of us, from mother to nurse, appears to have a perfectly clear conception of his character. This conception is simply enchanting. In fact, the young man has already made himself absolutely indispensable to us, and my comrade and I wonder how we ever got along with *only* three boys.

I rejoice that the editor of "Harper's" has discrimination enough to see the quality of your stories, and I long to see these two appear, so that you may quickly follow them with a volume. When that appears, it shall have a review that will draw three souls out of one weaver—if this pen have not lost her cunning.

I'm sorry I can't send a very satisfactory answer to your health inquiries, as far as regards myself. The mean, pusillanimous fever which took underhold of me two months ago is still *there*, as impregnably fixed as a cockle-burr in a sheep's tail. I have tried idleness, but (naturally) it wont *work*. I have tried no labor except works of necessity—such as kissing Mary, who is a more ravishing angel than ever—and works of mercy—such as letting off the world from any more of my poetry for a while. I get up every day and drag around in a pitiful kind of shambling existence. I fancy it has come to be purely a go-as-you-please match between me and the disease, to see which will wear out first, and I think I will manage to take the belt yet.

Give my love to the chestnut trees and all the rest of your family.

Your letter gave us great delight. God bless you for it, my best and only Richard, as well as for all your other benefactions to

Your faithful friend,

S. L.

The two stories to which reference was made by Lanier were probably "The Expensive Treat of Colonel Moses Grice" and "Puss Tanner's Defence," which immediately follow "Mr. Neelus Peeler's Conditions" in the third (comprehensive) edition of *Dukesborough Tales*, the former having appeared in *Scribner's Magazine* in January, 1881, and the latter in *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1881. These two stories, like "Mr. Neelus Peeler's Conditions," must surely have been read and criticized by Lanier. The reference to a volume of stories by Johnston was undoubtedly to the third and last edition of *Dukesborough Tales*, which appeared in Harper's Franklin Square Library in 1883. Lanier did not live to redeem his promise and to add a further proof of his devotion and loyalty to Johnston by writing a review of this volume. The mention by Lanier of his failing health already anticipated his approaching death.

Even more pathetic than the references in the foregoing letter are those in Lanier's last letter to Johnston, which bears the date of July 5, 1881. (Lanier died on September 7.) As the letter itself suggests and as the penmanship in the original shows, the address, the

date, and the first twenty-four words of the letter were dictated by the poet to his wife. Just after the word *husks*, Mrs. Lanier was called away, whereupon Lanier took up the pen—in spite of her parting warning—and himself wrote through the words, *But here comes May*. From this point onward the letter was dictated by Lanier and written down by his wife:

Camp Robin, near Asheville
July 5, 1881

My dear Colonel (but why should I not spell it *Kernel*,—as being one to whom other men are but as shells or husks?): I was just beginning to dictate to May when she was called away, and so I scrawl on, as well as I can, to tell you that your sweet letter came in upon me through my circumjacent woods like a rose peeping through the leaves, and that I should long ago have sent you my love for't if either work or health had permitted. Our camp-outfit required endless small labors, and as soon as we moved into our tents—which was about five weeks ago—I had to set very hard to work at completing my *Boy's Percy* (a redaction of Percy's *Reliques*) which I had promised to furnish—along with the Introduction to my *Mabinogion*—by July 1st, complete and ready for the printer. Although in the greatest bodily distress I have ever known,—for my fever seemed not only unrelenting but growing in ferocity daily,—I managed to get through in time, and had the gratification of fulfilling my contract in spite of old Chang Lung, the tyrant.

I am sure you will be glad to know that I am now comparatively free from pressure of work, and will be so for four or five weeks to come. It is too glorious for any words to sit under my great trees here and fold my hands, and lie fallow to the thoughts that rain down from God and from the mountains.

I have improved a little, I think, in one or two particulars, and my appetite is better, though my leg is certainly the most ridiculous object I ever beheld, and, as for the muscle of my arm, there is none. Nevertheless, I shall get well, and look for great things in the next four weeks.

Tell me how the novel fares, [*Old Mark Langston*, which also appeared after Lanier's death, in 1883] for I shall brood anxiously over each character.

But here comes May; (who takes her rebel into custody, with a reprimand) and as this is the longest letter I have written in a great while I will allow her to close for me. Please give our love to Dr. and Mrs. Browne [William Hand Browne and Mrs. Browne], and tell them how completely hard work has barred both May and myself from putting on paper the kindly thoughts of them that certainly dwell with us.

With as many sweet wishes for you as there be leaves in all the valley betwixt this mountain that my tent is on and yonder blue range twenty miles away that I glimpse across many an intervening lesser hill whenever I lift my eyes,

Your friend,

S. L.

(our love to Lucian [the youngest Johnston child] on his birthday)

At this point Mrs. Lanier added—evidently without the poet's knowledge—the following pathetic postscript:

Dear Friend:

I know that Mr. Tabb [John Banister Tabb] will receive our news and loving remembrance through you. There has not been much to aid my hope: his sufferings are almost intolerable: yet the last three days have been the best of any within a month. Uniform dry weather needed—& lacking.

.M.

As this parting letter indicates, one of the very last of Lanier's thoughts of Johnston, which he was able partly through the agency of his wife to reduce to writing, was concerned with the novel which he had urged Johnston to write. Johnston was actively engaged in this work at the time, the novel being his first, *Old Mark Langston*. Lanier, ever since he had first written to Johnston about "Mr. Neelus Peeler's Conditions," had encouraged Johnston to write, had given him practical advice, and had greatly helped him. That genius with which Johnston was endowed as a writer was of slow but sure development. While he was developing as a writer, Johnston needed most of all to have his own sense of self-reliance strengthened, to be assured that he could write and continue to do so acceptably. Stephens, Turnbull, Browne, Lanier—each of these friends, in turn, had helped Johnston to discover himself. The greatest of these, however, in the comradeship with which he met Johnston and spent hours and days in his home; in the penetrating common sense, good taste, and unfailing sympathy with which he had evaluated his friend's work, was undoubtedly Lanier. Lanier's guidance seems to have been the most important single friendly force in aiding Johnston to learn the craft of writing.

When death removed Lanier, Johnston had greatly profited in a literary way by his association with the poet: he had developed more ability in organizing and condensing his plots—a weakness with him throughout his entire career as a fiction writer—and especially had he, partly through the early stimulus of Lanier's kindly and discerning aid, gained an incentive to meet and to know intimately some of the leading editors and publishers in New York City and in the eastern states. He was better able now to sell his work, a most encouraging achievement for him. Though Johnston was to continue his writing, to acquire other literary friends and helpers in various parts of the country, yet it came to be true for him, as it was

for Lanier who had expressed the thought so aptly, so beautifully, that—after all the ravages, destruction, and blight of war, the insolence and dark threats of the days and months and years which immediately followed it, the parting from long-loved friends, the slow, deadening sorrow of self-expatriation—

The world has bloom'd again at Baltimore!

(To be continued.)

"PATOWMECK ABOVE YE INHABITANTS"
A COMMENTARY ON THE SUBJECT OF AN OLD MAP

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

PART 4

The Several Indian "Old Towns" on the Upper
Potomac River ¹

(a) *Old Town in Washington County*

In the second of this series of articles ² I related what I knew concerning King Opossa's Town, the Shawnee Indian town, which stood on the site of Old Town, Washington County, Maryland. This town was inhabited in 1726, but not many years later it was deserted. The Shawnees abandoned this town probably before 1732, but certainly before 1736. On Benjamin Winslow's "Plan of the Upper Part of Potomack River called Cohongorooto," as surveyed in the year 1736, a facsimile of which is published in Volume Eighteen of *William and Mary Quarterly*, Second Series, together with an excellent commentary by our editor, Mr. James W. Foster, the "Shawno Indian Feilds deserted," situated on the north side of the Potomac, about and below the junction of the North Branch, or Cohongoronton, and the South Branch, or Wappacomo, are defined with what seems to be considerable care. An "old feild" is also indicated on the Virginia side of the Potomac, just above the mouth of the South Branch. On John Warner's map of the Northern Neck, 1738, the "Shawno Ind.ⁿ Feilds deserted" are shown, lying about the junction of the North and South Branches of Potomac.³ There is no reasonable doubt that these Indian fields supplied corn to the Indians of King Opossa's Town.

In what year Thomas Cresap settled at Old Town nobody knows, although it is asserted confidently that it was in the year 1740. For the assertion last mentioned there seems to be no proof whatever. That he had a "hunting or Trading Cabbin" near the forks of the Potomac as early as the year 1745 is well known.⁴ It is not absolutely

¹ I desire gratefully to acknowledge valuable assistance received from Mr. Charles McHenry Howard in interpreting many of the records here published.

² *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXX, p. 126 et seq.

³ A facsimile of this map will be found in Fairfax Harrison's *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, Vol. 2, at page 441.

⁴ *Maryland Archives*, Vol. XLIV, p. 121, and Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber E. I. No. 8, folio 8 et seq.: Treaty with the Six Nations.

certain that this trading post was on the site of 'Old Town, for at that time Cresap owned no land on or about that site; neither is it certain that the road, which, in the year 1743, was ordered to be laid out from the mouth of Conococheague Creek to Captain Thomas Cresap's, had Old Town as its destination, although this author somewhat rashly gives this out for a fact in the second of this series of articles,⁵ but it is a fact that there was a road to Old Town as early as February, 1743/4,⁶ which may, of course, have been the road to Cresap's, laid out some months before.

It is unfortunate, also, that I formerly lent credence to the claim that Cresap was the first white settler at Old Town,⁷ for this claim, too, appears to be invalid. So far as can now be shown, the first white man to establish a residence at Old Town was probably a certain Charles Anderson, an Indian trader. While proof is lacking that he actually resided at the place before Cresap, it is highly probable, almost presumable, that he did so, and certain it is that he had some sort of an establishment, or post, or plantation at Old Town a number of years before. Anderson was an obscure man, owning no real estate so far as I can discover. Doubtless he had but one place of business, where he lived, traded and cultivated a small plantation. His acquaintance with King Opessa's town was probably made before the Indians forsook the place, for, as I noted in the first article of this series,⁸ in the year 1722 he received instructions from the Governor of Maryland to proceed to that town on a mission of some importance. In 1725 he resided "at Mononknisea," meaning, I suppose, at some place in the Monocacy valley.⁹ This rather tends to dispose of the supposition that he might have been that Indian trader whose cabin at the mouth of Conococheague Creek is indicated on the Hon. Philemon Lloyd's map of 1721. It is barely possible that he was living already at Opessa's Town before the Indians abandoned the site, but the lure of that place for the Indian trader was not the Indian town, but the Warrior's Path, which there crossed the Potomac into Virginia. At all events, his connection with that place can not be shown to antedate 1736. Benjamin Winslow's "plan" of the upper Potomac, which I mentioned above, has "Charles Andersons" on the north side of the river, above the mouth of the South Branch, and at the mouth of Twenty Shilling Creek, which, as we shall presently observe, is a creek now, or lately, called Sawmill Creek, which

⁵, ⁶ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXX, p. 128. The certificate of survey of "Colmore's Rambles" will be found at the Md. Land Office in Liber L. G. No. E., at folio 307.

⁷ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXX, p. 133.

⁸, ⁹ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXX, p. 132.

empties into the Potomac a very short distance below Old Town. On this map there are no indications of white settlers above Anderson's on the north side of the river, and none below Anderson's on that side for some distance. On the south side of the river Winslow's map of 1736 shows the settlement of " John Nickolas " a short way above Anderson's.

Land at and about Old Town was first taken up by Captain John Charleton, ancestor of Francis Scott Key, under the name of " Indian Seat," on November 8, 1739.¹⁰ On August 28th of that year Charleton obtained a renewal of a warrant for three hundred acres " with liberty of Locating the same at the Old Indian Town upon Potomack whereon a Certain Charles Anderson made some Cultivations." ¹¹ This warrant is endorsed " 200 a (acres) apply'd to Indian Seat." In the certificate of survey of " Indian Seat " the land is described as taking its beginning from " a bounded spanish oak standing on the side of Potomack river about a mile above the mouth of the south branch or south fork thereof the place being known by the name of the old Town." Charleton took out a patent for " Indian Seat " on November 30, 1740.¹² The words of the warrant about the old Indian town and the " cultivations " made by Anderson are repeated with no important variation. Anderson had doubtless left Old Town by 1739. Fry and Jefferson's map of 1751 shows " Anderson " still at Old Town, but this, in my opinion, is an error due to taking off information from earlier maps without looking into the matter as to whether or not such data were up to date. What became of the trader I do not know. The certificate of survey of " The Three Springs," laid out for Thomas Bladen, November 9, 1746, calls for a place on the Virginia side of Potomac River called *Andersons Cabbins*.¹³ This place is situated about a mile to the eastward of Cresaptown.

Thomas Cresap acquired land at Old Town by purchase from John Charleton, May 20th, 1746.¹⁴ He owned no land at that place before that date. The land so acquired was resurveyed for him March 22nd, 1749, and called " Good Hope," ¹⁵ which in turn was resurveyed for him May 4th, 1771 and called " The Resurvey on " Good Hope." ¹⁶ " Good Hope " is described as a resurvey on a

¹⁰ Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland Patents, Liber E. I. No. 5, folio 512.

¹¹ Warrants, Liber L. G. No. A, 1738-1742, folio 71.

¹² Patents, Liber E. I. No. 6, folio 268.

¹³ Patents, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 14, folio 585.

¹⁴ Deeds, Upper Marlboro, Maryland, Liber E. E., at folio 39.

¹⁵ Patented Certificate No. 420, Prince George's County, Land Office, Annapolis, Md.

¹⁶ Patented Certificate No. 3459, Frederick County, Land Office, Annapolis, Md.

tract of land called "The Indian Fields," containing two hundred acres, which was patented to John Charleton, November 13, 1740. There can be no reasonable doubt that this land was "The Indian Seat," which was patented to Charleton on that date. Charleton took up no land under the name of "The Indian Fields." On comparing the plat of "The Indian Seat" with the outlines of "The Indian Fields," as shown on the plat of "Good Hope," we find no appreciable difference. There is, of course, no conflict as to situation.

The first tract of land actually owned by Thomas Cresap in this neighborhood was "The Indian Fields,"¹⁷ a tract of land wholly separate and distinct from the land of the same name mentioned above. This land begins on the Maryland side of Potomac River a short distance above the mouth of the South Branch. As resurveyed for Cresap, June 26, 1762,¹⁸ it extends eastward along the river for several miles, or some distance below the mouth of Town Creek. On the west, adjacent to the river, it is bounded by "The Resurvey on Good Hope."

By 1771 Cresap's lands at and below Old Town amounted to something over a thousand acres, being joined a very short distance above that place by the lands of his son, Michael Cresap, called "Seven Springs,"¹⁹ and extending continuously down the river to and beyond the mouth of Town Creek. All of these lands, except what he purchased of Charleton, were taken up by Cresap, himself.

We have gone into these details, which to the reader will doubtless seem tedious, because of the bearing they have, or may have, on the history of Old Town, with particular reference to Thomas Cresap. Of especial interest, I believe, as tending to corroborate the evidence furnished by Winslow's map, is the fact that the land at and immediately below Old Town, and the lands extending from a point nearly opposite the mouth of the South Branch down along the river towards Town Creek, all went under the name of "The Indian Fields." We can hardly doubt that these lands included the old fields of the Shawnee Indians, which most certainly were in the river bottoms thereabouts.

For the sake of romance it is indeed fortunate that Old Town retains its earlier name, and not the later name of Skipton, which

¹⁷ Patents, Liber L. G. No. E., folio 103, Land Office, Annapolis, Md.

¹⁸ Patented Certificate No. 3533, Frederick County, Land Office, Annapolis, Md.

¹⁹ Surveyed for Michael Cresap, October 8, 1765, and containing 1706 acres: Patented Certificate No. 4320, Frederick County, Land Office, Annapolis, Md.; later, May 18, 1777, resurveyed for his son, James Cresap, under same name and containing 1952 acres: Patents, Liber I. C. No. B., folio 65. In 1817 the place on Potomac River where "Good Hope" and "Seven Springs" met was called Lantz's Mill (Abstracts of Deeds, Allegany County, Liber A. C. No. 2, folio 786). This was by a hill called Allum Hill.

Cresap bestowed on it, when he laid out a town at that place.²⁰ Cresap was a native of Skipton, a market town in the West Riding of Yorkshire, described as " at the head of the fertile grazing district of Craven." " Skipton-in-Crafon," or " Skipton-in-Craven " was the name given by Cresap to one of the many tracts of land which were surveyed for him. It has been carelessly stated that this land lies at Old Town. Actually it lies nowhere near that place.

Before leaving behind the subject of Old Town, I feel justified in saying something concerning the former names of a small stream now, or lately, called Sawmill Run, which empties into the Potomac at that place. These names undoubtedly have some obscure connection with the lost history of Old Town as a place where, before Cresap, white men traded with the Indians. On Winslow's map of 1736 this stream is called " Twenty Shillings Creek." Winslow has " Town Creek " below Twenty Shillings Creek. On Fry and Jefferson's later map (1751) we find Twenty Shillings Creek; but Town Creek is omitted. This curious name of Twenty Shillings Creek persisted, and will be found in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called " Three Springs," which was laid out for Gabriel Jones, September 16, 1790.²¹ The same stream also went by the name of the Trading Run. This name will be found in several certificates of survey, namely, " Scott's Adventure " and " White Oak Level," laid out for George Scott, June 17th and November 11th, 1776, respectively;²² also " Ipswitch," laid out for George Crabtree, November 26th, 1832.²³ It occurs also in a deed, James M. Cresap to Mary Hesselius and others, June 8, 1815, for part of " The Seven Springs." ²⁴ It is a pity that these names are no longer in use, for they would serve to enhance the bouquet of romance which will ever be conjured up by the name of Old Town.²⁵

(b) *Indian Field near the Mouth of Evitt's Creek*

Evitt's Creek, which empties into the North Branch of Potomac River a short distance below the lower limits of the city of Cumber-

²⁰ Abstracts of Deeds, Allegany County, Maryland, Liber A. C. No. 2, folios 687 and 755: September 20, 1817, James M. Cresap et al. to John Jeremiah Jacob, one town lot, distinguished as No. 20 in the plat of the town, situated in the town of Skipton commonly called Old Town; October 23, 1818, Luther Martin, Esq., to James M. Cresap, the stone house in the town of Skipton in the said county (Allegany) commonly called Old Town laid out by Col. Thomas Cresap in his life time, which stone house was owned by his son, Michael Cresap.

²¹ Patents, Liber I. C. No. 1, folio 699.

²² Patents, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 51, folio 340.

²³ Unpatented Certificate No. 404, Allegany County, Land Office, Annapolis, Md.

²⁴ Abstracts of Deeds, Allegany County, Liber A. C. No. 2, folio 189.

²⁵ It is my guess that Charles Anderson, or some other trader, gave twenty shillings for the Indian rights to the land about Old Town, hence the name, Twenty Shillings Creek.

land, formerly went by the name of Everts Creek, and earlier still was called Eagle Run, under which name it is designated on the Winslow map (1736) and on Fry and Jefferson's map (1751). Benjamin Winslow's map shows an "Old Field" on the north side of Potomac River, about a mile and a quarter below the mouth of Eagle Run. It was undoubtedly this old field which is called for in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Dispute," which was laid out for Thomas Bladen, Esq., June 7th, 1745, "Beginning at a bounded Hickery tree standing by the River Bank about two miles below the mouth of Everts Creek *at the Lower end of an old Indian Field,*" etc.²⁶

It seems to me quite possible, if not likely, that this old Indian field was one of the deserted Shawnee fields, and belonged to a small Shawnee village, another "old town," which stood hard by. It was too distant to have been cultivated by the inhabitants of Old Town, proper, or by those of the Upper Old Town, the site of which we shall consider presently.

(c) *The Upper Old Town on the North Branch of Potomac River*

The upper Shawnee "old town" on Potomac River is mentioned in several early certificates of survey of those parts, but not, so far as I have been able to ascertain, in any other old records. Nothing of its history is therefore known to this writer.

The site of the fields once cultivated by the Indians of this town is shown quite definitely on Benjamin Winslow's map, but vaguely on the later Fry and Jefferson map of this region. Winslow shows the "Shawno Indian Feilds deserted" extending from the upper end of a deep, horseshoe-shaped bend of Potomac River to the eastern end of a mountain ridge lying along the river. These details are wholly lacking on the Fry and Jefferson map. On a modern map they are easily recognized. The lower end of the horseshoe bend is between five and six miles above Cumberland. The bend lies between a place called Riverside and a place called Pinto. The land situated in this bend was formerly called Sugar Bottom.²⁷ The mountain ridge, which on Winslow's map bears no name, is called Fort Hill. Its eastern end is skirted by Mill Creek and lies near the village of

²⁶ Patents, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 5, folio 172. Under the same name Colonel Thomas Cresap later resurveyed this land.

²⁷ Additional Rent Roll of the Western Shore, Frederick County (Scharf Papers): "Sugar Bottom," 304 acres, surveyed May 25, 1763, for Dr. David Ross, "Beginning at a bounded Elm formerly bounded for Thomas Bladen, Esq., standing on the River bank at the lower end of a Bottom called Sugar Bottom about seven or eight miles above ffort Cumberland"; "Good Will," surveyed for Dr. David Ross, May 20, 1763, on Potomac River, "about four Miles above Sugar Bottom."

Rawlings. The river bottom between Fort Hill and Pinto is the site of the Shawnee old fields. In so far as it can be determined from records which are somewhat confusing, the site of the Upper Old Town lay towards the western end of the Shawnee old fields, probably not very far from Fort Hill, on or very near Potomac River.

As stated above, the Upper Old Town is mentioned in several early certificates of survey. These lands all lie upon the North Branch of Potomac River above Cumberland:

"I Never See It," surveyed for John Tolson, November 25, 1743, "Beginning at a Bounded white oak standing near the bank of Potomack River *about a Mile & a half below the upper old Town.*"²⁸

"The Cove," surveyed for Thomas Bladen, June 13, 1746, and later patented to Colonel George Mason, "Beginning at a bounded white oak standing at the upper end of a Bottom called the Cove on the North side of the North Branch of Potowmack *about six or seven miles above the upper old Town.*"²⁹

"The Three Springs Bottom," surveyed for Thomas Bladen, Esq., November 9, 1746, and later patented to Daniel Cresap, "Beginning at a Bounded white Oak and Black Oak Tree standing about one Perch from the River Bank Opposite to a place called Andersons Cabbin *About four miles Below the Upper Old Town on the North Branch of Potomac.*"³⁰

"The Little Meadow," or "Little Meadows," 50 acres, surveyed for Daniel Cresap, November 30, 1751, on a warrant granted to Thomas Cresap, "Beginning at a bounded white oak and a bounded Black oak standing by the side of a small ridge near some sink holes about a quarter of a mile from Potomack River *near the upper old Indian Town.*"³¹

"Hawkins's Clover Bottom," surveyed for John Hawkins, November 13th, 1753, "Beginning at a Bounded Black walnut Tree and a small white wood Tree standing near the Bank of Potowmack River and near the mouth of a small Gutt that Runneth into the said River *about eight miles above the upper old Town.*"³²

²⁸ Patents, Liber L. G. No. E., folio 302; Patented Certificate No. 1145, Prince George's County, State Land Office, Annapolis, Md. "I Never See It" was later, January 22, 1766, resurveyed for Daniel Cresap and called "Ross's Mistake" (Patented Certificate No. 4164, Frederick County); and later still, with other tracts, resurveyed for Daniel Cresap, March 15, 1790, and called "The Blooming Fields" (Patented Certificate No. 295, Allegany County, State Land Office, Annapolis).

²⁹ Patents, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 19, folio 404.

³⁰ Patents, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 14, folio 585. Granted to Daniel Cresap September 29, 1761, this land was resurveyed for him, January 16, 1766, and called "Prather's Defeat," and patented to Joseph Cresap, February 22, 1788. (Patented Certificate No. 736, Washington County, State Land Office, Annapolis, Md.).

³¹ Patented Certificate No. 2443, Frederick County, State Land Office, Annapolis, Md.

³² Patents, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 1, folio 347.

The outlines of the above mentioned lands are sketched in on an old plat of "military lots" situated west of Fort Cumberland. This plat is dated December 10th, 1787. A copy of this plat may be seen at the State Land Office. The date applies only to the military lots. The sketching-in of other lands, some of which are earlier, but most of which are later than the military lots, is obviously of later date. The work seems to have been done with a reasonable degree of accuracy and the results are, I think, dependable, at least for historical purposes. I detect one single error which must be mentioned: "The Three Spring Bottom" is called, erroneously, "Addition to 3 Spring Bottom." With the aid of this plat and a modern (1905) Maryland Geological Survey map of Allegany County, together with the original plats of these several tracts, the situation of the lands in question is easily ascertained:

"Little Meadows," or "The Little Meadow," lies about half a mile north-east of Pinto, a little to the west of the axis of the bend of Potomac River at Sugar Bottom.

The beginning of "The Three Springs Bottom," "about four miles Below the Upper Old Town," is on Potomac River, about seven eighths of a mile, measured in a straight line, above the mouth of Warrior Run.

"The Cove" occupies a broad stretch of bottom land along Potomac River, between the river and Fort Hill. The beginning of "The Cove" is very near the spot where Potomac River, after coursing along the southern edge of Fort Hill, leaves that eminence behind it, to rejoin Fort Hill again several miles down stream. The place is about a mile, in a straight line, below Dawson.

"Clover Bottom" lies on the north side of Potomac River, between three quarters of a mile and one mile above Dawson, measured in a straight line.

"I Never See It," which, as we have observed above, was re-surveyed and called "Ross's Mistake," occupies the bottom lands in the bend of Potomac River immediately below Fort Hill. The beginning of this land, "about a mile and a half below the upper old Town," which is also the beginning of "Blooming Fields" and of "Ross's Mistake," is near the lower end of this bend, between the mouths of two small streams, and not far below an island in the river.³³ This place is more than four miles, in a straight line, from

³³ It is only fair to state that, in the will of Daniel Cresap, dated June 18th, 1796, a full copy of which is printed in *Cresap Society Bulletin*, No. 2, 1935, there is a reference to the beginning of "Ross's Mistake" as situated near the mouth of Mill Run. There seems to be no doubt that the Mill Run there mentioned is the stream now called Mill Creek. However, it is quite certain that the beginning of "Ross's Mis-

the beginning of "The Three Springs Bottom," and since it was below the Indian town (a mile and a half is the estimate), it follows that the beginning of the last named tract of land was considerably more than four miles from the site of the town. The error is the greater, because these distances were, of course, not measured, but were reckoned by men who travelled over a winding route. We fall back on the estimated distances as given in the certificates of survey of "The Cove" and of "I Never See It." Here, at least there appears to be no serious discrepancy. Travelling over a winding path between the spot where "I Never See It" takes its beginning and Potomac River, westerly, a distance of about a mile and a half, we should find ourselves between the mouth of Mill Creek and the eastern end of Fort Hill, somewhere within the limits of the old Indian fields. It seems most likely that it is there, between Fort Hill and Mill Creek, on or near the river, on the borders of those extensive bottom lands, that we should look for the site of the Upper Old Indian Town. Whether or not the name of *Fort Hill* has any significance in this connection I am unable to say, but I think it far from impossible that it has a meaning. Almost all Indian towns of any importance were provided with forts. It must not be inferred that any Indian fort, which may have belonged to this particular Indian town, was situated on this mountain, for this was certainly not the case, but it may have been very near it, and so have given to the mountain its name.³⁴

take" and of "I Never See It" is at or near the place above described. To make assurance doubly sure, I have joined two plats of adjacent surveys, on which the reaches of Potomac river between Fort Hill and Sugar Bottom are easily identified. These surveys are: "The Blooming Fields," a resurvey on "Ross's Mistake," "Good Will" and Part of "The Indian Purchase," laid out for Daniel Cresap, March 15, 1790 (Patented Certificate No. 295, Allegany County), and "Pleasant Meads," a resurvey on part of "The Indian Purchase," laid out for Daniel Cresap, Jr., August 18, 1789 (Patented Certificate No. 2078, Allegany County). It seems perfectly clear that "Ross's Mistake" does not begin near the mouth of Mill Creek, but begins at a place about three-quarters of a mile below that spot.

³⁴ I find no earlier mention of Fort Hill than that which occurs in the will of Daniel Cresap, June 18, 1796. This fact does not, however, preclude the possibility that the mountain had borne that name for many years before this date.

THE AMAZING COLONEL ZARVONA

By CHARLES A. EARP

Richard Thomas of Mattapany believed in "living dangerously." This unusual man, gentleman adventurer and professional soldier, wandered to the far corners of the earth and yet found his moment of fame on the nearby waters of the Potomac not far from his ancestral home. Although he was a member of one of the best known families of Southern Maryland, son of a speaker of the house of delegates and nephew of an ex-governor, the early years of Thomas' life are dimmed in the half light of rumor and family reminiscence and only the most meagre details are known. Born in Saint Mary's County on October 27, 1833, young Thomas attended school at Charlotte Hall there and at Oxford on the Eastern Shore and was also a cadet at the United States Military Academy for a short time. But he seems to have been a wanderer at heart and, soon succumbing to the call of distant places, worked awhile as a surveyor on the western frontier. He next turned up in the Far East and there participated in the campaigns against the Chinese pirates who were terrorizing oriental waters. From Asia, Thomas drifted across to Europe where he fought under Garibaldi during the great struggle for national independence in Italy and here, it appears, he first adopted the name Zarvona by which he was to be known in later life.¹

Being an ardent Southern sympathizer, Thomas, or Zarvona as we shall call him, returned to America just before the Civil War to serve the Southern cause and at the outbreak of hostilities suggested fitting out a swift light boat for the Confederate service with which he proposed to prey upon Northern vessels on the Chesapeake.² It is not surprising, therefore, to find him prominently connected with one of the most daring feats of the early part of the war, the capture of the bay steamer *Saint Nicholas*, a 1,200 ton side wheeler, running between Baltimore and Georgetown, D. C.³

¹ Baltimore *Sun*, July 9, 1861; Henry Hyde in Baltimore *Evening Sun*, May 23, 1928. I am indebted to members of the Thomas family for securing for me the exact date of Zarvona's birth from the family Bible as well as other valuable information concerning the Colonel. Particular thanks are due Miss Louisa Thomas, Mr. Tazewell T. Thomas and, for general assistance, Mrs. Maria Briscoe Croker.

² R. to John, April 26, 1861, *The War of the Rebellion, a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Washington, 1880-1901, Series II, Vol. 2, p. 400 (cited as O. R.)

³ J. T. Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy*, New York, 1887, p. 114 (cited as Scharf).

There is some doubt as to the exact origin of the plan, for three men: Zarvona, George N. Hollins of Maryland, a captain in the Confederate navy, and H. H. Lewis, another naval officer, appear to have some claim for its conception.⁴ At any rate the basis of the scheme was daring in the extreme. It was proposed to secrete a band of carefully disguised volunteers on board the *Saint Nicholas*, overpower her crew at a strategic moment and take command of the vessel. Then by a quick trip to the Coan river on the Virginia shore the little force was to be augmented by a detachment of Confederate infantry. The *Saint Nicholas*, it appears, frequently transferred supplies to the United States warship *Pawnee*, a vessel of the federal squadron which patrolled the Chesapeake Bay. Consequently the final step in the plan was to range alongside the *Pawnee* as usual, throw an armed force on board and capture the vessel for the Confederacy by a surprise stroke before the federals became aware of the ruse.⁵

As the aid of a strong infantry force was highly desirable for the successful execution of this latter maneuver, an application was made to General Theophilus Holmes, commanding the Confederate forces at Fredericksburg, for the cooperation of a part of his command. General Holmes disapproved of what he considered to be a wild scheme and felt "that success would be miraculous." Nevertheless by express order of the Secretary of War, who favored the enterprise, Holmes detailed Colonel Bates' Tennessee regiment to cooperate with the movement at Coan river (probably in case the *Saint Nicholas* was pursued) but this force was strictly forbidden to take any part in the expedition on the water.⁶

Governor Letcher of Virginia was more enthusiastic, however, and supported the plan vigorously. He issued a draft for \$1,000 to purchase arms and supplies in the North and selected Zarvona as agent for this purpose. According to Captain Hollins' own statement he was placed in command of the expedition, which was to be carried out under his direction, Zarvona, it appears, acting as a sort of second in command. Lieutenant Lewis was recalled from duty on the lower Rappahannock, informed of his part in the enterprise and stationed with the Tennesseans. Then a small group of volunteers who had

⁴ Governor Letcher to President Lincoln, Jan. 2, 1863, *O. R.*, II, 2, 401; Extracts from notes by Commander George N. Hollins, C. S. Navy, n. d. (cited as Hollins) in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 4, p. 553 (cited as *O. R. N.*); Scharf papers; L. P. Walker, Secretary of War, to General T. H. Holmes, June 25, 1861, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 551.

⁵ Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 553; James D. McCabe, Jr., *History of the War between the States (1861-2)*, unpublished MS. dated Vicksburg, 1862, p. 256; Scharf, p. 111.

⁶ See correspondence between General Holmes and the Secretary of War, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 551-3.

been enlisted for the scheme crossed over quietly into Southern Maryland; Zarvona took the Patuxent boat and proceeded on to Philadelphia where he purchased the necessary arms for the expedition. Returning secretly to Baltimore, he gathered about him a little band of loyal followers and made his final arrangements for the coup.⁷

The *Saint Nicholas* left Baltimore on the afternoon of June 28, 1861, on her regular run, laden with freight for Saint Mary's and Charles counties and Washington City. She also had on board a number of passengers bound for the various landings along the Maryland shore of the Potomac river.⁸ Among those booking passage at Baltimore was a "French lady" of dark complexion and rather masculine features⁹ who included in her baggage several large high trunks such as were used by milliners at that time.¹⁰ According to one witness the "French lady" played her part to perfection, tossing her fan about and even coquetting with a federal officer who was among the passengers and no suspicions were aroused.¹¹ A number of rather common-place looking passengers seemed to be watching the "French lady" with some interest especially when the *Saint Nicholas* stopped at Point Lookout, Maryland where the Potomac meets the Bay. Here several men came aboard, among them an elderly looking individual and a young Marylander named Alexander; all booked passage for Washington City.¹²

Soon the "French lady" excused herself and disappeared into her stateroom.¹³ Several minutes passed and the *Saint Nicholas*, making up the river, drew further and further away from the Point Lookout dock. A group of male passengers, including those who had boarded at Point Lookout, lounged about the deck and seemed uninterested in retiring although by this time it was considerably after midnight.¹⁴ Then there suddenly emerged from the cabin of the "French lady" none other than Zarvona himself clad in the full uniform of a Confederate Zouave and armed with a cutlass and revolver.¹⁵ Quick orders were given and the loungers on the deck

⁷ Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 553-4; Scharf, pp. 112-3.

⁸ Charles Worthington to Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, July 1, 1861, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 550. Worthington was the agent for the Baltimore and Washington Steamship Line, Scharf, p. 117.

⁹ *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, July 2, 1861.

¹⁰ Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554; McCabe, p. 257.

¹¹ Statement of Lieutenant George Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115.

¹² Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554; Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115. McCabe states that Alexander "recognized" the "French lady" as an old acquaintance from Paris and that they at once became engaged in an earnest conversation in French. McCabe, p. 257.

¹³ Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115.

¹⁴ McCabe, p. 257; Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554.

¹⁵ Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115; *Daily Exchange*, July 2, 1861.

rushed into his cabin where they supplied themselves with weapons from the milliner's trunks of the "French lady."¹⁶ The elderly looking man, who turned out to be Captain Hollins, armed himself with a Sharp's rifle and a pair of pistols, raced up to the wheelhouse and informed the captain that his ship was in Confederate hands.¹⁷ The officers and crew of the *Saint Nicholas* were taken completely by surprise and, as Lieutenant Alexander put it, "In a few minutes we overpowered the passengers and crew, secured them below the hatches, and the boat was ours."¹⁸

All lights were then extinguished and the *Saint Nicholas*, under command of Captain Hollins, was headed at full speed for the Virginia shore, arriving at Coan river landing at 3:30 in the morning. Here she was met after some delay by Lieutenant Lewis and a detachment consisting of the Tennessee infantry and a few volunteers from the Confederate navy.¹⁹ Although they could expect no further aid from the Tennesseans, who were under strict orders not to board the *Saint Nicholas* for an expedition, the little band of volunteers who had originally seized the vessel decided to carry out their original plan and capture the *Pawnee*. However, it was learned through the Baltimore papers that the *Pawnee* had steamed up to Washington City to attend the funeral of a federal officer killed in the recent attack on Mathias Point and consequently the latter part of the plan had to be abandoned.²⁰

The passengers who so desired were allowed to go ashore at Coan river, the little band was augmented by the naval volunteers, and the *Saint Nicholas* was headed out into the bay and proceeded for Fredericksburg.²¹ But the adventure was not yet over. Soon another boat loomed up in the darkness and proved to be the brig *Monticello* bound to Baltimore from Rio de Janeiro with a cargo of coffee. She was immediately captured and on board were found the official dispatches from the U. S. squadron off Brazil which were turned over to the Confederate authorities. A short time later the schooner *Mary*

¹⁶ Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115; Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554.

¹⁷ Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554.

¹⁸ Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115. Approximately one-third of the forty-six Southerners participating in this affair were Maryland Zouaves. They included: Colonel R. Thomas of Richard (Zarvona), commanding; George H. Alexander, F. Gibson, lieutenants; Fred H. Hollins, George N. Hollins, Jr., William O'Keefe, William Powers, R. Fellon, Francis Duffin, Joseph Thompson, G. H. Frazier, John Daley, George Watts, John Brown, James Laughlin, Richard Fuller, Samuel Tatem, privates. See *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 555.

¹⁹ Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554; Scharf, p. 115.

²⁰ Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554; McCabe, p. 258.

²¹ Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554. See *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 555 for complete list of those participating. According to this official roster the Tennessee infantry did not sail on the *Saint Nicholas*.

Pierce carrying ice to Washington City was also taken and the precious cargo, selling for \$8,000, was put to good use in the southern hospitals. Finally a third vessel, the *Margaret*, loaded with coal, was overhauled and seized, this being a most fortunate capture as the coal aboard the *Saint Nicholas* was running dangerously low. She was quickly refueled from this supply, however, and then proceeded on to Fredericksburg with her prizes.²²

The daring crew of volunteers was received in Fredericksburg with full military honors²³ and Zarvona was commissioned under that name as a colonel in the volunteer forces of Virginia by the convention of the state.²⁴ He was royally entertained in Richmond and Scharf tells this amusing—if perhaps somewhat overcolored—story about his visit. It seems that the Colonel's friends insisted on seeing him dressed in his role as the "French lady." He consented with the understanding that the joke was to be strictly private but while he was out of the room preparing his costume, a lady entered much to the consternation of the group, and took her place among them. She was treated with politeness but left to herself as the embarrassed gentlemen tried to find some way of getting rid of her before Zarvona should return. Then at the psychological moment the Lady lifted her skirts and revealed a pair of officers boots and the tip of a sword. It was the Colonel himself who had turned the trick very neatly and, as Scharf says, "The effect may be imagined!"²⁵

Spurred on by the success of the *Saint Nicholas* affair, Zarvona was consumed with desire to repeat it and, securing permission from Governor Letcher to attempt another exploit of the same type,²⁶ he set out in a schooner early in July for Maryland waters. As can well be imagined the capture of the *Saint Nicholas* had caused much

²² The *Saint Nicholas* was purchased by the Confederate government and converted into a gunboat. On the capture of the prizes see Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554-5; Scharf, p. 116; *Baltimore American*, July 3, 1861. There occurred in later years a controversy as to whom belonged the credit for this affair, Captain Hollins writing a long statement after the war wherein he claimed that honor for himself. Apparently Hollins, a naval officer and the senior member of the party, was directing activities but it seems clear that Zarvona was the "key man" in the execution of the coup. See "Autobiography of Commodore George N. Hollins," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Sept., 1939. It is partly to throw further light on this controversy and partly because additional material has been discovered in other sources that the incident is retold here in detail.

²³ *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, July 2, 1861.

²⁴ The commission and papers discovered on Zarvona at the time of his subsequent capture are to be found in *O. R.*, II, 2, 399.

²⁵ Scharf, p. 117.

²⁶ Governor Letcher to G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War, June 20, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 4, 781; Governor Letcher to President Lincoln, Jan. 2, 1863, *O. R.*, II, 2, 401. The exact nature of the plan will never be known although it is probable that Zarvona intended to secrete himself on another steamer (perhaps the *Columbia* or *George Weems* of Baltimore), plan a junction with his armed vessel somewhere down the bay, and seize the unsuspecting ship.

consternation among the federals²⁷ and the rumor was quickly spread that the "French lady" was again in the State secretly planning another expedition.²⁸ A federal patrol boat scoured the Bay in search of him but to no avail.²⁹ On July 9th, John R. Kenly, provost-marshal of Baltimore, ordered the steamer *Chester* to be fitted out at Fort McHenry with several cannon, a detachment of federal troops and a posse of local police for the purpose of capturing Zarvona and his colleagues who were thought to be somewhere in the vicinity of the Chester river on a sailing vessel called the *Georgiana*.³⁰

Fate works in strange ways, however, and it was not this well armed expedition but two members of the Baltimore police force, John Horner and Lieutenant Thomas H. Carmichael, who finally located the elusive Colonel Zarvona. They had been sent to Fair Haven in Anne Arundel county to arrest one Neale Green, a well known Baltimore barber, for alleged participation in the attack on the Sixth Massachusetts regiment which had recently passed through the city. After securing their prisoner, Carmichael and Horner had boarded the steamer *Mary Washington* bound for Baltimore. The boat was scarcely under way before Lieutenant Carmichael learned to his utter amazement that the much sought after "French lady" was himself on the *Mary Washington* in disguise along with a number of his men. Zarvona's comrades had remonstrated with him for his rashness in going to Baltimore so soon after the *Saint Nicholas* affair, but the daring Colonel was determined to carry out his plans and, rather than have possible harm befall him alone, a group of his friends had accompanied him on the steamer.³¹

Lieutenant Carmichael immediately ordered the captain of the *Mary Washington* to direct his course to Fort McHenry and land

²⁷ J. P. K. Mygatt, Acting Lieutenant *U. S. S. Reliance* to R. B. Lowry, Lieutenant commanding *U. S. S. Freeborn*, June 30, 1861, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 549-50.

²⁸ *Baltimore American, Sun*, July, *passim*.

²⁹ R. B. Lowry, Lieutenant commanding *U. S. S. Freeborn* to Commander S. C. Rowan, *U. S. S. Pawnee*, July 10, 1861, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 572.

³⁰ *Baltimore American*, July 9, 10, 1861; *Baltimore Sun*, July 9, 10, 1861; Commander, *U. S. S. Pocahontas* to Commander, *U. S. S. Pawnee*, July 9, 1861, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 569-70; Commander, *U. S. S. Penguin* to Flag Officer Stringham, Atlantic Blockading Squadron, July 11, 1861, *O. R. N.*, I, 5, 785. The *Chester* did not get off until the day following Zarvona's capture and those aboard the *Georgiana*, learning of the fate of their colonel, had fled. The *Georgiana* was discovered several days later abandoned at the mouth of the Chester river and was subsequently brought up to Baltimore. *Baltimore American*, July 13, 1861; *Baltimore Sun*, July 11, 15, 1861; Robert Williams, A. A. G. Department of Annapolis, to Col. E. D. Townsend, A. A. G. War Department, July 14, 1861, *O. R.*, I, 2, 740.

³¹ *Baltimore American*, July 9, 10, 1861; *Baltimore Sun*, July 9, 1861. No satisfactory account exists on the capture of Zarvona. The only information available is that appearing in the Baltimore newspapers of the time but this material is presented for what it is worth.

his passengers there instead of at the regular dock. The Colonel grew suspicious and, approaching Carmichael, demanded to know by whose authority the vessel had been diverted from its customary course, Carmichael replying that the steamer's route had been altered by police orders. Then according to an account by one of the passengers a most dramatic scene ensued. Zarvona gathered his men about him and, drawing a pistol, threatened to seize Carmichael and Horner and throw them overboard. As the women ran screaming from the cabin, the police officers also presented their weapons and, backed up by a number of the male passengers, forced the Southerners to surrender.

On arriving at Fort McHenry one of the officers reported to General Banks commanding at that place who immediately ordered a company of infantry to the boat. The suspects were all put under arrest with the exception of Colonel Zarvona who had somehow made his escape and disappeared. After an extended search he was finally found concealed in a large bureau in the ladies' cabin,³² was taken without resistance and placed in close confinement at Fort McHenry. Among Zarvona's baggage was found his Zouave uniform, his commission as colonel in the armed forces of Virginia and other papers, including a letter of credit on a prominent Baltimore business house.³³

Zarvona's capture caused much comment and he was confined at Baltimore for piracy but was later indicted in the United States Court for the District of Maryland on a charge of treason only, and was retained in custody as a political prisoner of the Department of State.³⁴ The Colonel was considered such an important prisoner that a number of witnesses in the case against him (several members of the crew of the *Saint Nicholas*) were held as prisoners at Fort McHenry for almost two years awaiting the trial which never took place.³⁵ While Zarvona was confined at the fort, General Dix, then in command, wrote to General McClellan that among his prisoners was

. . . the celebrated Thomas or Colonel Zarvona, commonly known as the French lady. He is of one of the first families in Maryland; is rich, intelligent and resolute. His nervous system is much broken by confinement and want of

³² It was stated that at the time of his capture Colonel Zarvona was clad in feminine attire. See Townsend to Stanton, Secretary of War, Feb. 10, 1863, *O. R.*, II, 2, 404. The charge is denied in Scharf, p. 121.

³³ *Baltimore American*, July 9, 1861. A somewhat different version of Zarvona's capture appeared in the *Baltimore Sun* for July 9, 1861; it agrees with the *American's* account, however, concerning the main outline of the event.

³⁴ Dix to Stanton, Feb. 20, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 390; Extract from record book, State Department, 'Arrests for Disloyalty,' *O. R.*, II, 2, 379.

³⁵ See *O. R.*, II, 2, 381-9, 408-9.

active occupation and he has made earnest appeals to me for the privilege of walking about the garrison within the walls on his parole of honor not to attempt to escape. There is no doubt it would be sacredly respected. . . .³⁶

This request brought no satisfaction, however, and the prisoner was finally transferred to Fort Lafayette in New York harbor in the custody of Major D. P. DeWitt of the Second Maryland (Union) Infantry.³⁷ From here Zarvona made repeated appeals for parole on account of his health but in vain.³⁸ No action was taken and a short time later the prisoner was placed in strict confinement for allegedly corresponding with friends outside by means of some mysterious and secret cipher.³⁹ Yet the Colonel was not a man to give up easily even in the face of such diversities and one night in April of 1862, in the midst of a high wind and a raging storm, he made a spectacular attempt to escape. He gained the sea wall, eluded his guard, and, plunging into the choppy waters of the harbor, struck out in the darkness for the distant Long Island shore. A boat was hastily lowered and the prisoner was overtaken after a short pursuit and returned dripping but undaunted to his cell.⁴⁰ According to Scharf's account Zarvona was unable to swim but managed somehow to fashion an ingenious life belt by corking up a number of tin cans and suspending them around his waist by a cord.⁴¹ As a result of this misadventure, the "French lady" was placed in still more rigid confinement and was allowed no visitors, even the special pass issued to his mother being revoked.⁴²

The rumor was circulated that the rigor of his close imprisonment had impaired the Colonel's health both mentally and physically⁴³ and in January, 1863, the Senate of the United States passed a resolution to examine his case and determine if relief could not be extended.⁴⁴ It was reported as a result that the severity of his confinement was necessitated by his attempt to escape. A federal army surgeon also examined him at this time, declared his physical condi-

³⁶ Dix to McClellan, Sept. 5, 1861, *O. R.*, II, 2, 381.

³⁷ D. T. Van Buren, by order of Major General Dix, to Lt. Col. Martin Burke, commanding at Fort Lafayette, Dec. 2, 1861, *O. R.*, II, 2, 165.

³⁸ Zarvona to William H. Seward, Secretary of State, Dec. 22, 1861, Jan. 9, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 386-7.

³⁹ E. D. Townsend to General L. Thomas, Feb. 27, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 394; Lt. Col. Burke to General Thomas, March 5, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 395; Thomas to Burke, Feb. 28, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 394.

⁴⁰ See account by a former prisoner, *O. R.*, II, 4, 775; statement of federal officers, *O. R.*, II, 2, 396-7.

⁴¹ Scharf, p. 121.

⁴² *O. R.*, II, 2, 394-5, 397-8.

⁴³ See *O. R.*, II, 2, 411-12; II, 4, 774-76 for Confederate accounts of his treatment in prison.

⁴⁴ *Congressional Globe*, XXXIII, part I, page 558 (3d sess., 37th Congress, 1862-63).

tion good, and reported him somewhat eccentric in his ideas but perfectly sane and rational.⁴⁵

Meanwhile Zarvona's relatives and the Confederate authorities at Richmond had been making every effort to have him exchanged as a regular prisoner of war.⁴⁶ In June, 1862, Governor Letcher had issued a strong note of protest, pointing out that Zarvona had been acting under his orders on an authorized mission for the promotion of the Confederate cause, and further threatening to execute two federal officers of equal rank with the Colonel if any harm should befall him.⁴⁷ When no results were forthcoming he followed this up with a special letter to no less a person than President Lincoln himself in which he reviewed Zarvona's case at some length and asked that action be taken. In addition four federal officers and three privates were placed in the Virginia penitentiary under state authority as hostages for Zarvona, destined to suffer the same fate that was meted out to him.⁴⁸

Finally in April 1863, after nearly two years of imprisonment without trial the Colonel's exchange was authorized by Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War, and he was released.⁴⁹ The records fail to show any additional information concerning Zarvona and he appears to have played no further part in the war. There is no complete explanation but perhaps in the following letter lies the answer to this sudden ending to his strange career in the service of the Confederacy.

FORT LAFAYETTE, *New York Harbor, March 24, 1863*

Brig. Gen. L. THOMAS

Adjutant-General, U. S. Army, Washington, D. C.

SIR: I wrote you some days since in regard to a parole for R. T. Zarvona (the French lady). He now desires me to say that if released he will leave the country and give his parole of honor not to return to the United States or the Confederate States during the war, and that he will not take part in the rebellion. He says he will do this because his health is destroyed by the confinement he has undergone.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

MARTIN BURKE,

Lieutenant-Colonel Third Artillery, Commanding Post ⁵⁰

⁴⁵ See correspondence, *O. R.*, II, 2, 403-6.

⁴⁶ Zarvona wrote to Governor Letcher and Secretary of War Benjamin to intercede in his behalf, *O. R.*, II, 2, 411-12. See also letter of his brother Lieutenant George Thomas, 1st Maryland Battalion, to General (Stonewall) Jackson, Nov. 18, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 412-13.

⁴⁷ Letcher to G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War, June 20, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 4, 781.

⁴⁸ Letcher to President Lincoln, Jan. 2, 1863, *O. R.*, II, 2, 401-3. Letcher says two officers and five privates but see petition of the hostages, *O. R.*, II, 2, 407.

⁴⁹ *O. R.*, II, 5, 434, 522. The hostages were paroled early in May so Zarvona must have gained his freedom somewhere around the last of April. See *O. R.*, II, 2, 414-15.

⁵⁰ *O. R.*, II, 2, 410.

Thus Richard Thomas, also called Colonel Zarvona and the "French lady," vanished from the history of the Civil War. Practically nothing is known about his later life other than that he returned to Europe and lived in Paris for a number of years. The Colonel appears to have been there during the Franco-Prussian War and, for a man of his temperament, it is not unlikely that he participated in that struggle also. The early '70s found him again in Southern Maryland, his days of adventure and excitement over. He died at Woodberry, the home of his brother, in 1875 and was buried in the old Thomas family burial ground at Deep Falls. The wanderer had returned home, this time to roam no more.⁵¹

⁵¹ Part of the information on Zarvona's last years was found in the notice of his death appearing in the *Baltimore Sun* for March 26, 1875; part was kindly supplied by members of the Thomas family.

LETTERS OF ARCHBISHOP MARÉCHAL

Letters of Archbishop Maréchal of Baltimore to Baron Hyde de Neuville concerning the two large paintings and the bell presented to the Catholic Cathedral of Baltimore by a sovereign of France were recently acquired by the Society from a dealer in London. Written in French, they have been translated for publication in these pages by the Rev. W. S. Reilly, D. D., of St. Mary's Seminary.

It will be recalled that early in his administration Archbishop Maréchal, himself a native of France, undertook the completion of the unfinished Cathedral. With the exception of the west towers and portico this was accomplished and the structure dedicated on May 31, 1821. Baron Hyde de Neuville, while French minister at Washington and afterward, served as mediary between the prelate and King Louis XVIII.

The paintings hang today where they were placed by the Archbishop, at the west ends of the north and south aisles. They are "St. Louis Burying His Plague Stricken Troops" by Karl von Steuben and the "Descent from the Cross" by Pierre Guérin.

The first letter lacks superscription. On the back of the second appears:

To His Excellency

The Ambassador of his Most Christian Majesty,
New York

Baltimore, October 4, 1819

Excellency,

It is with deep sentiments of gratitude that I have received the letter in which you kindly inform me that His Most Christian Majesty intends to present to our Metropolitan Church a picture worthy of the beauty of this edifice. When on reaching Paris you have the happiness to approach this excellent Prince, I earnestly beg you to lay at his feet the homage of my thanks and of those of the Catholics of the United States. Some trait of the life of St. Louis would be a very fitting subject; for instance, his heroic charity toward the plague-stricken in Egypt. The innumerable multitude of Americans of all creeds who will visit our church will behold with religious admiration this great King, the love of Europe and the terror of the Barbarians, laying aside his royal majesty to serve with his own hands his sick soldiers and to bury the dead. The sight of such a touching spectacle will naturally connect itself in their minds with the series of benefits which the posterity of St. Louis has poured forth upon the whole world, and Louis XVI in particular upon the United States.

The most advantageous exposition would be the end of the south aisle where I propose to raise an altar. To fill the vacant space, it would be neces-

sary that the picture be 12 feet wide by 16 high. It would be placed about two feet above the altar. A large side window which will be of the height of the picture and about eight feet away from the altar will give light which will be abundant and which, I think, will bring out the beauty of the colors.

I was always hoping that something would happen to keep you in this country. Your departure has been a real subject of sorrow for Washington. All the families which I have seen there recently are consoled only by the hope that you will soon come back to occupy the post which you have filled to such advantage for His Majesty, whilst winning the respect and confidence of the United States and of foreign powers.

I form, Excellency, very sincere wishes for your return. But if I should not have the happiness to see you here, I beg you to believe that in whatever country of the world H. M. may judge well to employ your great talents, I shall retain for you and for Mde De Neuville the sentiments of profound respect with which I am,

Excellency,

Your very humble servant

Amb. Arch. Balt.

Baltimore, Oct. 5, 1819

Excellency,

I fear I have forgotten to tell you when the Metropolitan Church will be finished. After consulting the workmen, it appears certain that I may perform the ceremony of consecration on the next feast of the Assumption, at the latest. So it would perhaps be fitting that the picture which His Majesty proposes to send us should arrive here in the course of the month of July. I should not, however, see much inconvenience in its coming a little later, if the artists employed by the Government could not finish the painting in so short a time.

I have never had a vocation to embrace the religious state, and least of all that of St. Francis, but you are so kind that very likely in putting aside my natural timidity in dealing with you, I am going to become guilty of indiscretion. Could you obtain for us *one* bell, from the Government? It would be enough that it should weigh 5 or 6 thousand. We should baptize it with great ceremony. Your excellency and Mde De Neuville would be the godfather and godmother, at least by proxy. Blanche or Mde d'Angoulême would be the name of the clamorous catechumen—a present of this kind would be highly prized by the Catholics who habitually frequent our metropolitan church.

I am with great respect, Excellency,

Your very humble servant

Amb. Arch. Balt.

[On back of letter]:

To His Excellency, the Baron C. Hyde de Neuville,
City of Washington.

Baltimore, February 20, 1821

Excellency,

We were all filled with joy by the news of your safe arrival at Norfolk. It had indeed been reported that you would be among us only in passing and that you would soon sail for the court of Brazil. I was flattering myself that the reports had no foundation; but the official Gazette gives us the certainty that we are losing you and that Rio de Janeiro is to have the good fortune to possess you, instead of Washington. All friends of France and of the United States regret infinitely that H. M. has not appointed you to a country where you command general respect and confidence; and I in particular, who know of all the good works of religion and of beneficence in which you and Mde. De Neuville have been constantly engaged, cannot but deplore this change in your destination however honorable it may be for you and however useful it may be to France. If you could at least leave us here the excellent Count de Mun! But you are taking him away without pity for us. The Gazette informs us that he is actually with you. Likely he will have spoken to you of a picture sent me some three months ago by His Majesty. I do not know yet whether it is the one you obtained from the bounty of the King, or if we may hope to have a second one as a companion piece in the Metropolitan Church. This picture is still in storage at the customhouse. In vain did the Count try to get it exempted from duty. It is doubtless to your Excellency that he leaves it to deliver this prisoner of His Majesty. It seems to me that you had made me hope for a fine bell. Have you succeeded in getting this present for us from our good King?

Before sailing you will doubtless have occasion to visit Baltimore. I should be delighted by this visit, were it only because it would allow me to offer to you and to Mde De Neuville the homage of the sincere respect and lively gratitude with which I am,

Excellency,

Your very humble servant

Amb. Arch. Balt.

Confidential

Baltimore, October 5, 1821

Your Excellency,

I have a secret to communicate to you and at the same time a service which I pray you to render me.

I have long since thought of going to France and of pushing on from there to Rome where the interests of the Church imperiously demand my presence. I do not yet know when it will be possible to start. I am told of a vessel which is to leave at the end of this month, from the port of New York for Le Havre. Maybe it will be possible for me to take advantage of it.

I need a passport from the Secretary of the United States, Mr. S. Adams, [*sic*] for I shall travel as Archbishop of Baltimore and a citizen of the United

States in different kingdoms of Europe. Will you have the kindness, Excellency, through one of your secretaries, to obtain this passport for me? It is essential that I receive it before next Thursday at latest.

Should you judge that it would be useful to have one also from your Excellency, for France in particular, I pray you to send it to me.

I do not know who is the ambassador of His Most Christian Majesty near the Holy See. A letter of Your Excellency in which you should ask him to support with all his influence the representations which I propose to make to His Holiness might be of eminent service to the welfare of Our Church here, so ill treated by the Propaganda.

I am daring to make many requests of your Excellency. But you have manifested in so many circumstances such touching kindness that I address you with full confidence. It is certainly useless to assure you that I should deem myself happy to be of any use to you either in France or in Italy.

My respects to Mde De Neuville. I present to you the same homage and am,

Excellency,

Your very humble servant

Amb. Arch. Balt.

Baltimore, February 16, 1823

M. le Baron,

You have given me so many tokens of your kindness both here and at Paris, when I was passing through that city recently, that I really cannot let a member of the Legation depart for France without asking him to give you this slight expression of my respect and of my gratitude.

You doubtless already know the story of my voyage. After being tossed about by a storm for several days, then after having got out of the Channel, the Captain took refuge in the port of Kinsale in Ireland. It is there that I had the sorrow to lose the excellent Baron de Truijl [?] and his amiable secretary, who, fatigued by the stormy weather, landed and left the boat. Since their departure, the "Six Frères" which in the port of Le Havre had appeared to me to be such a fine boat, seemed altogether changed into a floating prison. I must grant though that good Captain Williams did more than was possible to make my crossing agreeable. With the exception of a few favorable days, we experienced only contrary winds and calms. Thank God we landed happily at New York on November 21, all in good health though tired.

The newspapers have just given us an announcement which has been the subject of universal rejoicing. It is that instead of sending you to Constantinople, H. M. has named you Minister of the Interior. No doubt you would have been extremely useful to France in Turkey. However, we all believe here that with your talents and patriotism you will render him, at the head of such an important ministry, services that will be still more considerable. Besides, to tell you the truth, I would have been very sorry to see Mde. De Neuville among those long mustached Turks, and the Janisaries. A lady so kind, so gentle, so benevolent, so religious, is evidently made for the Court

of our Kings. To go to live at Constantinople appears to me contrary to her vocation.

I fear that I made a mistake in the dimensions of the picture which H. M. is having painted for my Cathedral. To correspond with the one I have it must be 11 feet and 3 inches wide by 12 feet 9 inches high, French measure. Perhaps there would still be time to give him these dimensions.

I always remember with emotion the amiable welcome given me by His Majesty; the interesting conversation with his august brother, Monsieur; and the touching kindness of Mde the Duchess of Angoulême and the Duchess of Berry. The children of the latter are ever present in my mind. They do not suspect that a poor Archbishop placed at the other extremity of the world prays every day that God may shed upon them His most abundant blessings; and still it is the pure truth. It would assuredly be ridiculous to ask you to present my homage to them. If, however, the occasion should offer you may assure them that they have no subjects who are more faithful and more devoted.

Adieu! my dear Baron. Heaven alone knows if ever I shall have the consolation to see you and your excellent Lady in this world. At least I shall never cease to form wishes for your welfare. Deign also on your side to keep a little place for me in your memory and to believe that I am with very sincere respect and gratitude.

Mr. le Baron,

Your very humble servant,

Amb. Arch. Balt.

SHIPS AND SHIPPING OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MARYLAND

By V. J. WYCKOFF *

(Concluded from Vol. XXXIV, page 283.)

From where did the vessels come which were found in the Maryland, waters, where were their home ports, their destinations, how long did they stay, what proportion of the trade was inter-colonial? There is information about such aspects of Maryland commerce, in most part for the last several decades of the century; and although no claim can be made that the data are complete, on a number of subjects they are adequate enough to allow reliable conclusions. Three major sources of information are used, all of which have been referred to before. They are the "Maryland Miscellaneous" and the "Navigation Bonds" lists and *Colonial Trade* by Morriss.¹³⁶ Where possible the presentation of the material will be in tabular form as the most concise and intelligible method of organization. There will be three groups of data: 1. those figures relating to all vessels, colonial and foreign, trading in Maryland waters, (the "all" is complete only in reference to the indicated sources); 2. colonial owned vessels including Maryland trading in Maryland; 3. Maryland owned vessels engaged in the external commerce of the colony.

All Vessels, Home Ports. The first item of interest about all the vessels concerns their ownership, or as it was put, "of what place." Supplementing the figures given in Table V is an occasional official comment drawn from the experiences of administrative officials. For instance in 1686 the Commissioners of Customs in Ireland writing to the similar officials in England to protest the reestablishment of the 1671 Navigation Acts said that after the expiration of that act in 1681 the tobacco trade shifted from Bristol and that area "to the Northern Ports, Viz., Chester, Liverpool, Workington & Whitehaven." One reason was the "great Corruption of ye Officers in the Port of Bristoll."¹³⁷ However, Bristol Channel ports continued to hold their own in world trade, and "Bristol, in the seventeenth century, was the greatest seaport in western England."¹³⁸

* Mr. Wyckoff is now a member of the faculty of the College of Commerce at the University of Maryland—EDITOR.

¹³⁶ See above, pp. 270-271. Morriss's references covered the years 1690-1699, pp. 85, 87, 88, 110-113, and were based on P. R. O., C. O. 5: 749.

¹³⁷ P. R. O., C. O. 324: 4, f.200.

¹³⁸ Andrews, *Colonial Period*, I, 302-303. An indication of the relative importance

All Vessels, Origins of Voyage and Destination. What ports of origin were recorded for the vessels trading to Maryland? Although more often than not "from what place" (port of origin) coincided with "of what place" (ownership) the "Maryland Miscellaneous"

TABLE V.

HOME PORTS OF COLONIAL AND ENGLISH VESSELS TRADING IN MARYLAND, 1689-1693 ¹

American Ports	Number of Vessels	Per cent. of Total	British Ports	Number of Vessels	Per cent. of Total
Maryland	41	17	London	82	33
New England.....	10	04	Bideford	25	10
New York.....	6	02	Bristol	15	06
Pennsylvania	3	01	Other ports ²	37	15
Delaware ³	5	02	Ireland	2	01
Virginia	10	04	Uncertain	9	04
Bermuda	1	*			
Barbados	2	01	Total.....	170	69
Total.....	78	31	Grand total ⁴	248	100

1. The reference for this table was the "Md. Miscell." list; the number of items for each of the years were 16 vessels for 1689, 70 for 1690, 91 for 1691, 52 for 1692, and 19 for 1693. That this table tends to neglect inter-colonial shipping will be brought out later in the discussion of such commerce.

2. The other outports with the number of vessels: Liverpool 7, Topsham 4, Barnstable 4, Plymouth 4, Stockton 4, Scarborough 3, Exeter 3, and 2 or 1 for Chester, Dartmouth, Falmouth, Hull, Lancaster, Lyme, Whitehaven.

3. In this and subsequent tables Delaware will be considered a separate entity because it with Newcastle appeared distinct from Pennsylvania on the "Md. Miscell." and "Navig. Bond" lists. Politically it did not have a separate legislature until 1704.

4. Calculations from three tables offered by Morris give similar results. Taking the years 1690 through 1693 she listed 97 vessels coming from London (p. 87), 101 from the outports (p. 88), and 110 from the American colonies (p. 110). The distinction between "of what place" and "from what place" was not clearly made in her lists, but using such major classes for the ports the distinction with several hundred items is not important because the majority of vessels tended to leave and return to their home ports, that is, place of ownership or "of what place." The approximately equal division of shipping from London and the outports indicated in the above table was confirmed in an abstract of ships allowed to sail to Maryland and Virginia in 1691: 65 from London and 60 from the outports, Additional Manuscripts, no. 9764, f. 8.

* Less than 1 per cent.

list of ships in many instances gives both facts as well as "whither bound." About three-twelfths of the vessels during those years came from London, four-twelfths from the out-ports and the same number

of British ports in the first quarter of the century is contained in an article by R. G. Marsden, "English Ships in the Reign of James I." He assigned the ships to a total of 194 ports. The first twelve in order of importance with the number of ships follow: London 344, Ipswich 76, Hull 50, Plymouth 47, Newcastle 42, Bristol 37, Dover 37, Aldeburgh 36, Harwich 36, Leith 32, Yarmouth 32, Sandwich 30, Royal Historical Society, *Transactions*, n. s., XIX, 312-313. Marsden mentioned that "Materials for compiling a complete list do not exist."

from other American colonies and within Maryland, and one-twelfth could not be placed. In a more detailed way the following Table VI gives the ports of origin and destination.

Added interest about the voyages has been gained from a know-

TABLE VI

THE ORIGINS OF COMMERCIAL VOYAGES TO MARYLAND BY COLONIAL AND ENGLISH VESSELS AND THE DESTINATIONS UPON DEPARTURE, 1689-1693 ¹

Ports	Origin of Voyage		Destination	
	No. of Vessels	% of Total ²	No. of Vessels	% of Total
Maryland	28	12	—	—
New England.....	6	03	7	03
New York.....	5	02	5	02
Pennsylvania ³	6	03	—	—
Delaware	5	02	4	02
Virginia	10	04	18	08
Bermuda	2	01	1	*
Barbados	28	12	11	05
Total.....	90	39	46	20
London	65	27	97	43
Bideford	22	09	27	12
Bristol	10	04	14	06
Liverpool	5	02	8	04
Other outports ⁴	40	18	35	15
Total.....	142	60	181	80
Foreign ⁵	3	01	—	—
Total.....	145	100	181	100
Uncertain	13	—	21	—
Grand Total.....	248	—	248	—

1. The reference for this table was the "Md. Miscell." list.

2. The total of the known ports was taken as the base for the calculations of the percentages.

3. It is probable that 3 vessels returned to Pennsylvania.

4. The other out-ports had 5 or less items, with the usual ports listed and 1 vessel from Ireland, see Table V, note 2.

5. Rotterdam 1, Africa (Guinea) 2.

* Less than 1 per cent.

ledge of the repeated trips made by certain of the ship masters, the "Maryland Miscellaneous" and "Navigation Bonds" lists offering the basic information. It has been assumed that a return voyage is indicated by identical names for the master and vessel on different dates of entry. From 1683-1695 about 60 masters returned at least once in their vessels, that is, had two entries into Maryland, and 8 of those had records of three of four trips, usually a year apart. Fur-

thermore, some of those masters and/or owners possessed more than one vessel. A correlation of full names of the men with identical home ports indicates 21 cases in which two different boats or ships were owned at the same or different times, and there are 7 more names about which the facts are slightly doubtful. Incidentally most of the boats bore Christian names, the most frequent being "John."

All Vessels, Entering and Clearing. During periods of war convoys were insisted upon and the merchant vessels were retained at both ends of the voyage until a fleet could be assembled. At other times the entry and clearing of vessels in Maryland waters was determined by the tobacco seasons and the requirements of the individual ship masters or owners. To be sure ships often started across the ocean in groups, but vagaries of weather and the spur of competition were apt to change the composition of the original fleet and bring the members into provincial rivers in dribblets. The one fleet versus the numerous fleet controversy is of no immediate concern,¹³⁹ but there is cause for questioning the fairly frequent statement that both entries and clearings were almost confined to a few months in the year.¹⁴⁰ Table VII presents information on this subject for Maryland for part of the tenth decade, and subject to the following comments there is no reason to believe that the three years covered by the table were unique.

Although the winter months, October through March, were used for entry by about 58 per cent. of the vessels, there was some movement in and out of the Chesapeake and Potomac in each month of the year. Concentration on the cold months arose from the dread of a long stay during the summer months in which illness among the crews and attacks of worms on the ship bottoms appeared to be costly miseries of foreign vessels. The "Navigation Bonds" list stresses the last quarter of the year rather than the first. Because that list covers only vessels getting their bonds in Maryland one infers that very few English ships were included.¹⁴¹ And such was the case;

¹³⁹ Morriss, pp. 40-42; Wyckoff, *Tobacco Regulation*, pp. 112-114.

¹⁴⁰ "The principal month for sailing [from England] was September [though] not universal," bringing the vessels into plantation waters in November barring detailed trading in Bermuda and the West Indies, Bruce, I 622-623. Governor Berkeley of Virginia writing in 1700 to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations said that no ships came except by chance from the middle of March until October or November, and thus February to June were the out-going months, P. R. O., C. O. 5: 715, f. 1.

¹⁴¹ Naturally the majority of the securities on those bonds given in Maryland were residents of the colony. An analysis was made with these results: the years 1679-1696 were divided into two periods and for each period the locations of the men going on the bonds as securities were classified by Maryland counties, other colonies, London, merchants on ships and unknown. In the first period, 1679-1689, among the Maryland

TABLE VII. MOVEMENT OF COLONIAL AND ENGLISH VESSELS IN MARYLAND WATERS, 1679-1696

Month	" Maryland Miscellaneous " 1 1690-1692					" Navigation Bonds " 2 1679-1696				
	Vessels Entering			Vessels Clearing		Vessels Entering			Vessels Entering	
	Number	% of Total	% Groups	Number	% of Total	% Groups	Number	% of Total	% Groups	% Groups
January	10	05	35	6	03	15	23	12	27	36
February	37	17		11	05		16	08		
March	28	13		14	07		12	06		
April	28	13	31	14	07	53	18	09	23	50
May	27	12		50	25		18	09		
June	13	06		43	21		9	05		
July	8	04	25	16	08	73	17	09	16	25
August	7	03		38	19		4	02		
September	9	05		1	01		10	05		
October	12	06	27	2	01	05	13	07	34	39
November	20	09		2	01		24	13		
December	14	07		3	02		28	15		
	213	100		200	100		192	100		

1. The years 1689 and 1693 were omitted because the data were too scarce for use in such a table.

2. The allocation of the 192 vessels to the different months has been done on the assumption that the date of the bond coincided with the entry date, or was very near to it. In turn this assumption rested both upon the fact that in 31 out of 33 cases where both bond dates and entry dates were available there was this coincidence, and also upon the reasonableness of such an assumption.

of the 192 vessels recorded (eliminating 33 duplicates of the "Maryland Miscellaneous" list and 2 incomplete items) 51 per cent. had home ports in Maryland or other American colonies, 21 per cent. from the out-ports, 11 owned in London and 17 per cent. were uncertain. Thus it seems that the colonial vessels with a shorter voyage entered Maryland waters in the early winter months. Also the out-port captains freed from the regulations of London shipping took advantage of early arrival. When the weight of the London ships is included, as in the "Maryland Miscellaneous" list, the major movement into the province was in the first quarter of the year, the later winter months.

All Vessels, Length of Stay. How long did the vessels remain in Maryland? A general idea of ship movements is gained from a summary by Governor Nicholson who found that

[there was] commonly a month or six Weeks difference betwixt the first and Last Ships of any fleets coming into the Capes, 2dly that after they are got in, they are sometimes a week or a fortnight a getting to their Port and sending their goods some fifty some a hundred miles, 3dly When they are got to their Port, they are vsually as long before they can fit out their sloops in Order to bring their Tobacco on Board which they fetch some fifty some a hundred miles, and lastly when they are loaded & Cleared for Sayling they may be hindred again by Contrary Winds before they can quit the Capes.¹⁴²

Lending itself to statistical treatment is information on this subject for 213 vessels; it is presented in Table VIII.

All Vessels, Types. At the first part of this paper the various types of vessels trading in Maryland were described. And although an idea of size has been given from time to time for individual ships

counties Calvert led with 49 names, next was St. Mary's with 26, then Talbot 19, Somerset 13, and the rest of the counties had less than 10 each; the merchants on the ships accounted for 8 securities, and the miscellaneous group 21. In the second period, 1690-1696, the Eastern Shore counties came forward in prominence having a larger total, 43, than the Western Shore counties, 39. Talbot County on the Eastern Shore led with 25 names, then Calvert 19, Anne Arundel 10, St. Mary's 8 (reflecting the loss of the provincial capital), and the others with less than 10. A few men were securities on a number of bonds, for instance Sharp of Talbot County was listed 17 times, Edloe of Calvert 15, Lynes of St. Mary's 14.

From one of the "Navigation Bonds" lists, f. 87, it was possible to get an idea of the length of time between the issuing of the bond (probably at the time of entry), the date of the certificate (discharging the bond) and the date of filing the certificate (cancelling the bond and releasing the securities). Because only 36 items were complete, the results were not conclusive even for the colonial vessels which predominated. A certificate was issued, indicating the end of that voyage, within a year for 69 per cent. of the vessels, and within two years 86 per cent. of the bonds had been certified. It took about another six months to get the certificates returned to the naval officers and filed in official discharge of the bonds.

¹⁴² *Archives*, XIX, 152.

TABLE VIII

LENGTH OF STAY OF COLONIAL AND ENGLISH VESSELS IN MARYLAND, 1690-1692

Days in Maryland ¹	Number of Vessels			Vessels, Total	% of Total	Percentage Groups	
	1690	1691 ²	1692				
1- 14.....	6	10	6	22	10	18	31
15- 44.....	5	8	4	17	08		
45- 74.....	13	8	6	27	13	40	69
75-104.....	23	19	16	58	27		
105-134.....	11	15	13	39	18	42	42
135-	12	31	7	50	24		
	70	91	52	213	100		

1. The length of stay in Maryland was figured from the date of entry through the date of clearing. The reference was the "Md. Miscell." list.

2. It will be noticed that for 1691 the length of stay was longer than in the other two years and longer than the time indicated by the occasional reference. An explanation can be offered. In 1690 the peak of entries came in May, later than usual; and with a three months stay gathering the cargoes of tobacco the major clearing was not until August in which month 60% of the vessels left ("Md. Miscell."). Several months later the normal movement of fleets toward Maryland started, but upon arrival the merchants probably found that the recently departed vessels (August, 1690) had just about cleaned up the tobacco from the plantations. Such was a common experience when a group of merchants arrived too soon after the departure of a previous fleet.

TABLE IX

TYPES, BURDENS AND CARGOES OF COLONIAL AND ENGLISH VESSELS IN MARYLAND COMMERCE, 1689-1693

Type	Number of Vessels	Tons Burden		Cargo, hhds. Tobacco ¹		Guns Mounted		Ownership
		Range	Median	Range	Median	% of Vessels	No. of Guns	
Sloop ...	30	6-25	10	2-150	25	03.3	2	Colonial
Brigantine	17	10-40	20	3-87	50	06	2	Colonial
Ketch ..	10	15-70	25	34-162	100	20	2-5	70% Colonial 30% English
Bark ...	11	25-50	30	8-166	50	20	2-3	40% Colonial 60% English
Pink ...	34	20-260	100	15-750	230	60	4-12	10% Colonial 90% English
Square sterned ²	82	15-400	100	5-932	300	80	2-34	10% Colonial 90% English
Flyboat .	12	80-300	200	203-715	575	100	4-18	Foreign ³
Hackboat.	9	60-240	200	110-804	655	100	6-22	English
Uncertain	43							
	248							

1. The number of hogsheads or the nature of any other cargo was not given for every vessel.

2. A general term covering many types, but excluding the pink which had a narrow or rounded stern.

3. Most of the ships classed as foreign built were "made free" for the colonial trade. They were usually Dutch built.

and boats, it is from the "Maryland Miscellaneous" list that more complete information comes. There is no reason to believe that the data presented in the following Table IX though taken from records in the tenth decade are not representative for the seventeenth century as a whole and for much of the eighteenth. For the sake of comparison the range of the ships of the East India Company was from 250-600 tons; and in the years from 1673-1676 for 209 foreign-built ships made free (they were usually Dutch) the average tonnage was 162.1.¹⁴³ Quite naturally the larger the vessel the wider was its trading area. Thus the sloops were engaged in the inter-colonial commerce as were the smaller brigs, ketches and barks, though now and then a boat of 15-20 tons made the trip across the ocean. Also the larger the vessel the greater likelihood that it was English or foreign built. Of the 248 vessels about two-thirds were from English yards; most of the balance were American built. The ownership proportions were about the same.

Colonial Vessels, Home Ports, Origins of Voyage and Destinations. Now for a short analysis of purely colonial shipping in Maryland commerce. For the inter-colonial trade including Bermuda and the West Indies there are pieces of information from the first trip of the pinnace *Dove* to Boston in the summer of 1634 carrying corn and buying fish.¹⁴¹ But detailed data of a quantitative sort are lacking until the last two decades. Figures from the "Maryland Miscellaneous" list make a real contribution to information about maritime activities in Maryland for the last decade of the seventeenth century and bore the endorsement of Lord Baltimore, but they cannot be considered definitive. Probably the figures under-emphasize the importance of colonial vessels and particularly those from New England. Contemporary material of that period indicates the predominance of New England vessels in colonial shipping and the conclusions of Morriss seem justified that "more boats came into Maryland from New England than from any other [American] place. Next to these

¹⁴³ Violet Barbour, "Marine Risks and Insurance in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, I, 562.

¹⁴⁴ *Archives*, IV, 251-255. For the other end of the colonial trade with Maryland see Curtis Nettels, "The Economic Relations of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, 1680-1715," *Jr. Ec. and Bus. Hist.*, III, 185-215. Some efforts toward cooperation were made, for instance by William Penn in 1697 who suggested an annual meeting of two delegates from each colony to handle cases of emigrating debtors, of criminals, of disturbances to commerce, of external enemies; but the spirit of individualism and definite colonial schisms were too far developed to allow such cooperation until England's trade policies drew them together in the 18th century. P.R.O., C.O. 324: 6, ff. 12-17; C.C.P., 1696-1697, nos. 694, 987. D'Avenant about the same time put forward a similar scheme, *Works*, II, 40-41.

the largest part of the [Maryland] trade was actually done by Maryland vessels, as the Council stated."¹⁴⁵

But for several years at least the edge which the northern ship owners and masters had over local interests in the Maryland trade was not conspicuous. Reports without prejudice were no more a virtue in those days than currently, and it was to be expected that official statements from Maryland would play down the importance of shipping other than that from England. Too much independence of England was not to be emphasized, and such a consideration possibly accounted for the relatively minor position of colonial vessels on the "Maryland Miscellaneous" list, particularly the New England boats and ships.¹⁴⁶ Illustrative of that reticence was the statement of the provincial Council referred to by Morriss. Asked by English officials to give the details of the Maryland commerce, the Lower House of the Assembly, May-June, 1697, drew up the following reply to which the Governor and Council as the Upper House gave approval:

This province hath little traffick with any other [of] his Matys Colonys in America or else where, and the little traffick which is vsed is by exporting hence porke beife pipe staves timber and such like together with wheat fflour & some small quantities of tobacco to Barbadoes either by small Craft belonging to this province or new England who trade here for Rum sugar & malasses most especially & some parcells of fish & some [inconsiderable] wooden wares of their owne manufacture & this province hath noe supply of any woolen manufacture else where but from England except that of the native wool of this province our necessity hath taught vs to make some course stockings & clothing for servants and slaves &c.¹⁴⁷

To be sure the total of external colonial vessels a year probably averaged 30 and that number scattered over the broad waters of the province could well be termed "little traffick," but it was about one-third of the total shipping which came from without the colony. Several sources of information are available to allow a fairly correct allocation of colonial vessels trading in Maryland; the data are given in Tables X and XI.

As has been mentioned, it would seem that for colonial vessels the "Navigation Bonds" list and the figures presented by Morriss are closer to reality than the records of the "Maryland Miscellaneous," which is the best source for non-colonial ships. Thus from the material offered there is not a great deal of difference between Mary-

¹⁴⁵ Morriss, p. 113.

¹⁴⁶ See above, Table V

¹⁴⁷ *Archives*, XIX, 540.

TABLE X. HOME PORTS OF COLONIAL VESSELS TRADING TO MARYLAND

Home Ports	"Maryland Miscellaneous " 1689-1693		"Navigation Bonds " 1679-1696		Morriss ¹ 1690-1699	
	No. of Vessels	% of Total	No. of Vessels	% of Total	No. of Vessels	% of Total
Maryland	41	53	33	34	84	28
New England.....	10	13	40	41	89	30
New York.....	6	08	13	13	43	14
Pennsylvania	3	04	—	—	33	11
West Jersey.....	—	—	1	01	1	*
Delaware.....	5	06	1	01	—	—
Virginia	10	13	3	03	29	10
Carolina	—	—	—	—	5	02
Barbados	2	02	4	04	8	03
Bermuda	1	01	3	03	3	01
Uncertain ²	—	—	—	—	3	01
	78	100	98	100	298	100

1. Morriss, pp. 110-113; taken from P. R. O., C. O. 5: 749, *passim*. In the material from Morriss, Delaware was evidently combined with Pennsylvania.

2. The uncertain items were called "Plantation."

* Less than 1 per cent.

TABLE XI

THE ORIGINS OF COMMERCIAL VOYAGES TO MARYLAND BY COLONIAL VESSELS AND DESTINATIONS UPON DEPARTURE

Ports	Origins of the Voyages				Destinations			
	"Md. Miscell." 1689-1693		Morriss ¹ 1690-1699		"Md. Miscell." 1689-1693		Morriss 1690-1699	
	No. of Vessels	% of Total ²	No. of Vessels	% of Total	No. of Vessels	% of Total	No. of Vessels	% of Total
Maryland	26	34	41	17	—	—	11	5
New England.....	6	08	70	30	7	11	53	26
New York.....	6	08	35	15	4	06	26	13
Pennsylvania	6	08	26	11	—	—	19	09
West Jersey.....	—	—	1	*	—	—	1	*
Delaware ³	5	06	—	—	2	03	—	—
Virginia	10	13	23	10	17	26	30	15
Carolina	—	—	6	03	—	—	4	02
Bermuda	2	03	3	01	1	02	2	01
West Indies ⁴	15	20	28	12	10	15	34	17
Total.....	76	99	233	99	41	63	180	88
"England"	—	—	1	*	6	09	16	08
London	1	01	—	—	7	11	4	02
Out-ports	—	—	—	—	10	15	1	*
Madeira	—	—	2	01	1	02	4	02
Total.....	77	100	236	100	65	100	205	100
Uncertain	1	—	62	—	13	—	93	—
Grand Total..	78	—	298	—	78	—	298	—

1. Morriss, pp. 110-113; taken from P. R. O., C. O. 5: 749.

2. Because of the large number of uncertain items, the total of the known ports was taken as the base for the calculations of the percentages.

3. In the material from Morriss, Delaware was evidently combined with Pennsylvania.

4. Predominantly Barbados.

* Less than 1 per cent.

land and New England in the activity of their respective merchantmen in Maryland commerce though a slight advantage lies with the northern ship masters. Meager figures, though of some pertinence, are also found in the list of "Navigation Bonds taken in Maryland and for which Legal Certificates have been produced."¹⁴⁸ It is also reasonable to conclude that in addition to officially recorded commerce there were numerous trips by boats between Baltimore's palatinate and the adjoining colonies, Virginia and Pennsylvania. The southern boundary line for Maryland was the high water mark on the Virginia side of the Potomac, an inter-colonial voyage which could be taken without benefit of naval officers. And from the northern reaches of the Chesapeake short land portages made trade with Pennsylvania and the Delaware River area an easy, profitable reality.

Maryland Vessels, Origins of Voyages and Destinations. But what about the Maryland owned vessels; what were their ports of call? Of course pretty close estimates can be made from the tables already presented; however, an analysis of the data on this one subject will be informative and an organization of the figures is offered in Table XII. As might be expected most of the Maryland owned vessels gave their own colony as the starting point for the recorded sailing, though from one-third to one-half had entered from Barbados. That West Indies island was the most favored destination and it with other American colonial ports drew somewhat over two-thirds of the Maryland boats and ships. If the "Maryland Miscellaneous" list under-emphasizes the direct commercial relations with other colonies in locally owned boats, to the same extent the Public Record Office data used by Morriss probably slights the trips by Maryland ship masters to London and the outports.

During the seventeenth century Maryland remained not only an agricultural colony but also a specialist in one crop, tobacco. And because the leaf was used with increasing eagerness in England and Europe the planters of Baltimore's palatinate could afford to leave the responsibilities to others for getting the hogsheads from the multitude of plantation wharves and shipping them across the ocean. Yet it is not reasonable to suppose that no ship-building went on in the colony until the last decade of the century when a definite report

¹⁴⁸ This was on folios 87, 87v, of P. R. O., C. O. 5: 714. Assuming that the place where the certificates were granted was the official final destination, the results were these: out of 14 vessels 7 went to New England, 2 to New York, 2 to Virginia, 1 to Bermuda, 1 to Nevis, W. I., and 1 to New Providence, W. I. The years covered by this list were 1685-1695.

was made about this activity. On the contrary it may be stated that boats and rafts as distinguished from ships were a common product of the labors on each water-front plantation. The extreme dependence of the people for many decades upon the waterways for transportation of themselves and their products surely compelled such con-

TABLE XII

THE ORIGINS OF COMMERCIAL VOYAGES TO MARYLAND BY MARYLAND OWNED VESSELS AND THE DESTINATIONS UPON DEPARTURE

Ports	Origins of the Voyages				Destinations			
	"Md. Miscell."		Morriss ¹		"Md. Miscell."		Morriss	
	1689-1693		1690-1699		1689-1693		1690-1699	
	No. of Vessels	% of Total ²	No. of Vessels	% of Total	No. of Vessels	% of Total	No. of Vessels	% of Total
Maryland	25	63	32	61	1	03	4	11
New England.....	1	02	—	—	4	11	2	06
Pennsylvania	3	08	1	02	—	—	3	08
Delaware ³	1	02	—	—	1	03	—	—
Virginia	—	—	1	02	6	17	7	19
Carolina	—	—	1	02	—	—	1	03
Barbados	8	20	15	29	9	26	14	39
Bermuda	1	02	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total.....	39	97	50	96	21	60	31	86
"England"	—	—	—	—	2	06	1	03
London	1	02	—	—	6	17	—	—
Out-ports ⁴	—	—	—	—	6	17	—	—
Madeira	—	—	2	04	—	—	4	11
Total.....	40	100	52	100	35	100	36	100
Uncertain	1	—	32	—	6	—	48	—
Grand Total...	41	—	84	—	41	—	84	—

1. Morriss, pp. 110-113; taken from P. R. O., C. O. 5: 749.

2. Because of the large number of uncertain items, the total of the known ports was taken as the base for the calculations of the percentages.

3. In the material from Morriss, Delaware was evidently combined with Pennsylvania.

4. The number of Maryland vessels to the individual outports follow: Liverpool 2, Stockton 2, Bideford 1, Lyne 1.

struction. Moreover, from the returns of the sheriffs in 1697 it was shown that somewhat over 70 vessels had been built in Maryland since 1689 and more than that number bought. One may feel sure that positive participation in ship ownership and construction had started in previous years even though on a more restricted scale. Support for such a conclusion comes from the occasional items in the archives of the period.

There was a conspicuous contrast in the locally initiated maritime

activities of Maryland and New England, possibly a reflection of contrasting economic geographies as much as personal characteristics or political philosophies. Was life in Maryland more leisurely? Perhaps, but tobacco plantations did not run themselves, and the relative dominance of northern colonies in colonial shipping might not have rested upon greater aptitudes for assumption of risks, physical and financial, or a greater display of virtues peculiar to a materialistic pioneer community. When crop diversification seemed advisable, when manufacturing of plain materials became a necessity, when the dependence upon merchants and ship masters of England and the colonies proved irritating,—then the planters of Maryland began to think of something else than tobacco. They took advantage of their forests, of their local craftsmen and put their own vessels into the external commerce of the province. Thus it seems that during the seventeenth century the maritime activities of Maryland and local participation in them were proportionate to the needs and facilities of Lord Baltimore's province.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ This conclusion is tentative. Somewhat in contrast one may refer to a late 17th century comment on Virginia by Messrs. Hartwell, Blair and Chilton, prominent residents of that colony. The similarity between Maryland and Virginia in climate, geography and economic activities (mainly tobacco cultivation) during the century make their opinions pertinent to an appraisal of Maryland. They wrote that "as to all the Natural Advantages of a Country, [Virginia] is one of the best, but as to the improved Ones, one of the worst of all the *English* Plantations in America." By improved advantages they meant ports, markets, ships, seamen, manufacturers, educated children, in sum "an industrious and thriving People, . . . an happy Government in Church and State." The causes for such backwardness they found difficult to determine, but there were "the narrow, selfish Ends of most of their Governors . . . (and) the Obstinacy of the People" especially in settling in towns. Also they had a severe word for the staple, tobacco. It would be an excellent product if the planters did not mix the leaf with trash; such adulterated tobacco so glutted the market "that it becomes a meer Drug, and will not clear the Freight and Custom." Further, as soon as the soil was exhausted by tobacco (and corn) the land "runs up again in Underwoods." Then came the final indictment: tobacco being only a summer occupation the planters "acquire great Habits of Idleness all the rest of the Year." *The Present State of Virginia*, pp. 2, 5-6, 8.

Evidently the book caused no little trouble in Virginia. In one of the copies at the Library of Congress there are ink notes unsigned, but dated 1727 to the effect that the book had not been published with the consent of the authors, and that all the grievances mentioned in it had been redressed by that date.

MATTHEW ARUNDEL OF WARDOUR CASTLE

vs.

MATHEW HOWARD OF VIRGINIA

By JOHN BAILEY CALVERT NICKLIN

For many years the question of the paternity of Mathew Howard, immigrant to Virginia, and perhaps later to Maryland, has puzzled and irritated descendants and genealogists. The writer is unfortunately unable to throw any light upon the parentage in question, but he is able to furnish the unquestionable proof that Mathew Howard was not Matthew Arundel under another name. Long before the Virginian immigrant came to the New World, Matthew Arundel had ended his short life of eleven years and had been interred in a London church. The details of his parentage, ancestry, etc. are given in this article.

In a rare book, Part III of *Genealogical Collections Illustrating the History of Roman Catholic Families of England Based on the Lawson Manuscript*, edited by J. Jackson Howard, LL.D., F.S.A., Maltravers Herald Extraordinary, and H. Seymour Hughes, printed for private circulation only, is found the history of the Arundell family, as well as the proof that Matthew Arundel did not become Mathew Howard who came to Virginia "before 1624." On page 160 it is stated that "The right honourable Anne Baroness Arundell of Wardour daughter of Miles Philipson in the co. of Westmerland Esquier wife of the right honourable Thomas Lord Arundell of Wardour, Departed this mortell life at Lennox house in Drury Lane in the parrish of St. Giles in the fields near London the xxvijth day of June 1637. She had issue by her said Lord three sonnes and 6 daughters Mathew Arundell eldest sonne. Thomas Arundell, 2d sonne and Frederick Arundell, 3d sonne, all dead within age."

On page 173 appear these inscriptions from Tisbury, Wiltshire, from Border Legends copied from Ms. at Wardour Castle:

Here Lyeth Anne Philipson
Daughter of Myles Philipson of Crook in the County Westmer
land Esquire and Second Wyfe
Of Thomas Lord Arundell of Wardour who dyed the 28 of June
1637

Tho D'ns Arund
ellius Primus Baro de Warder et Sacri Romani Imperii
Comes Obiit 7^o Die
Novembris Aetatis Suae 79 Ano Dni 1639
Sicut Pullus Hirundini sic
Clamabo Isaiae 38 v. 14

The translation of this latter inscription is freely: Thomas first Lord Arundell of Wardour Castle and Count of the Holy Roman Empire died Nov. 7, 1639 in the 79th year of his age. Like a crane or a swallow so did I chatter. (The extract is from the 14th verse of the 38th chapter of the Book of Isaiah and alluded to the swallows on the Arundel coat-of-arms).

The will of this Thomas, dated 5 Nov., 1639 and proved 3 Dec., 1639 by William Peasley, Esq., directed that he was to be buried in the same manner as his father, Sir Matthew Arundel, was, without any vain ostentation. "My friend Wm. Peasley of London, Esq^r & John Morgan of Holbourne, Co. Midd., gent., Ex'ors." The will was witnessed by Geo. Barber, Rich. Peasley, Wm. Smith, D. Callenoba, John Gatwarche and John Ellis.

There is a long pedigree of the family and on page 233 it states that Sir Thomas Arundell, Knight, 1st Baron Arundell of Wardour, was eldest son and heir of Sir Matthew Arundell (1535-1598). He married, firstly (articles before marriage dated 19 June, 1585), Mary, only daughter of Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton, by his wife, Mary, daughter of Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, K. G. She was buried at Tisbury 27 June, 1607. He married, secondly, at St. Andrew's, Holborn, London, 1 July, 1608, Anne third daughter of Miles Philipson of Crook, Co. Westmoreland, Esq., by his wife, Barbara, sister and co-heiress of Francis Sandys of Conished, co. Lancaster, and widow of ———— Thurgood. She died 28 June 1637, in London and was buried, 4 July following, at Tisbury. Ad'm. granted to her daughter Catherine Eure, widow, 1 Feb., 1639/40. By this second marriage Thomas, Lord Arundel, had 3 sons and 6 daughters:

- I. MATTHEW, who was baptized at St. Andrew's, Holborn, London, 19 June, 1609. He was mentioned in a deed of entail dated 1616 and died in Castle Yard, Holborn, London, and was buried 2 June, 1620, in the Chancel of St. Andrew's, Holborn. [So he did not come to Virginia in 1624, at the age of 15].
- II. Thomas, who died in infancy.
- III. Frederick, who also died in infancy.
- I. Catherine, whose marriage settlement was dated 1 Nov., 1627. Her will, in which she is described as of the Parish of St. Gyles in the Fields, Co. Middlesex, was dated 11 Aug., 1657 and proved 12 Sept., following. She married Ralph Eure (1606-1640), who died in his father's lifetime, in Southwark, London.
- II. Mary, who was living in 1683. She married Sir John Somerset, Knight, who died about 1673, aged about 62, at Louvain in Flanders.

- III. Anne, who was buried at Tisbury, 23 July, 1649, aged 34. Her portrait, by Van Dyke, is at Wardour Castle. She married Cecil Calvert, later second Lord Baltimore.
- IV. Frances, who married, as his second wife, John Talbot, 10th Earl of Shrewsbury. Died 8 Feb., 1653.
- V. Margaret (a twin with Clare), who was baptized 4 Feb., 1619/20 in Lord Arundel's house in Castle Yard, London, and recorded under date of 4 March following at St. Andrew's, Holborn. Died 1638. She married, as his first wife, Sir John Fortescue of Salden, co. Bucks, 2nd Bart. Baptized 13 July, 1614, at Mursley, co. Bucks and was buried there 14 June, 1683.
- VI. Clare, who was baptized 4 Feb., 1619/20. Articles before marriage dated 7 July, 1638. She married Humphrey Weld of Lulworth, co. Dorset, Esq. Died 1685.

Further proof of the early death of Matthew Arundel is supplied by the following documents:

(SEAL)

7 St Andrews St
Holborn Circus, E. C. 4
23. 3. 38

Dear Sir,

Enclosed please find the certified copy of the burial of Matthew Arundel 2 June 1620 as requested in your letter of the 16 March. The fee is 3/7

Yours faithfully

A. T. Jones, Verger.

PARISH OF ST. ANDREW, HOLBORN,

in the City of London and in the County of Middlesex

Extract from the Register Book of Burials.

Matthew Arundell sone of Thomas Lo: Arundell out of Castill yard in holborne was buried in the Chancell under the Table the 2: June 1620

The above is a true Extract from the Registered Book of Burials kept in the Parish Registry. Witness my hand this 22nd day of March in the year 1938.

(signed): J. R. HOWDEN, Rector

And now for Mathew Howard of Lower Norfolk Co., Va., who was there as early as Feb. 8, 1637/8 when Robert Taylor was granted 100 acres of land in that country "bounded on the West with Mathew Howard." On May 26, 1638 Mathew Hayward (*sic*) was granted 150 acres in the same county, due for the transportation of his wife Ann and 2 other persons. As to Mathew Howard or Hayward (Haward, Hayward or Heyward being various spellings of the name): Mathew Howard the elder was made executor of the estate of Richard Hall of Lower Norfolk Co., and Cornelius Lloyd wit-

nessed Hall's will which was probated in 1648. It provided that his "penorial property" go to Ann, Elizabeth, John, Samuel, Mathew and Cornelius Howard, and Ann, wife of Mathew Howard. No relationship was mentioned, which seems to preclude the assumption that Ann Howard was his daughter. The grant to Mathew for transporting his wife Ann (1638) seems to indicate that he was married in England. However, he may have transported first and married later. There has long been the claim that Mathew was the son of John Howard who was killed in the Massacre of 1622, but he is not mentioned among the survivors of that tragedy. However, he may have been in England at the time and migrated to Virginia afterward. There is no doubt that his name was Howard and nothing else.

John Howard of Maryland (son of this Mathew) used (1696) an armorial seal which shows the undifferenced arms of the Howards (not the Arundels), viz: a bend between 6 crosses crosslet fitchee. However, this seal was willed to him (1683) by Henry Howard of Anne Arundel Co., who made the bequest without calling the legatee a kinsman of any kind. In 1661 (Liber 7, p. 247) Mathew Howard (Jr.) was assigned land by Henry Catlin, while on page 249 mention is made of land due Cornelius Howard and brothers, Mathew, Samuel and John, all of Anne Arundel Co. To Samuel Howard was granted 900 acres, together with his brothers, these same three, in 1658 (p. 251), on the south side of the Severn River. In 1649 John Howard and brothers, Samuel, Mathew and Cornelius were referred to as of London (p. 253). On July 3, 1650, there was a grant of 350 acres on the Severn River to Mathew Howard, but there is no record of his actually taking up the land or even coming to Maryland. In 1659 Philip Howard was called "orphant" (of Mathew Howard, dec'd?). So it is by no means certain that Mathew Howard of Anne Arundel Co., Md., was identical with Mathew Howard the elder of Lower Norfolk Co., Va., in 1645. He may have been the son of that name rather than the father, who may have died in Virginia or returned to England. I am indebted to Dr. Arthur Adams of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, for the loan of the photostatic copy of the burial certificate of Matthew Arundell (1620).

BOOK REVIEWS

Charles' Gift: Salute to a Maryland House of 1650. By HULBERT FOOTNER.
New York, Harper & Brothers, 1939. 290 pp. \$3.00.

Since 'all the world loves a lover,' every love-story honestly and unaffectedly related by an interesting man or woman—still joyously under the spell of profound emotion—is a delight to the reader. Such a sensitive and revealing record of a deep and enduring passion is *Charles' Gift*.

But this is a love story with a difference. It chanced that Hulbert Footner, nearly thirty years ago, fell ardently in love with a house—a house on the north shore of the Patuxent River—'a house ancient in years and beauty.'

Like every true lover, Mr. Footner has been constant, possessive and proud to admit he is also possessed. He belongs to his home as much as the lovely old house belongs to him. With an art all the more graceful because it seems unconscious and utterly unpretentious, he is not content in celebrating the charms of his inamorata to tell us merely what she is today, or even how she has grown more radiant under his affectionate guidance and protection, but he wants us to know what memories and what events in the distant past, gave to her the character and the beauty which are so dear to him.

Therefore, the author, having drawn the portrait of the house itself, having set it in its frame of an unspoiled country side, and dramatized the neighborhood with vivid little sketches of the men and women—white and black—who cast their shadows on the walls of *Charles' Gift*, slips back into the past and tells us, with clarity and vigor, what the house remembers—what stirring and historic happenings occurred under its 'steep roof with the big chimneys.'

And, indeed, the house and the site itself may well move the interest of the historian and the antiquarian. Erected in 1650, it is, if not the oldest house in Maryland, almost certainly the second in age. It was built by Richard Preston, who seems to have begun as a not too tolerant Puritan, and who later, by some fascinating and unknown process of rebirth, became transformed into the 'King of the Quakers.' Perhaps his status as King relieved him somewhat of his Quaker obligations of patient non-resistance to evil, for he appears to have been a forthright, resolute man, and his religious precepts did not deter him from playing a prominent part in the stormy conflict for Provincial domination during the days when the struggle in Maryland between Cavalier and Puritan echoed faintly the thunder of the English Civil War between the King and the Parliament. At *Charles' Gift* in those early days the Provincial Court had its sessions and meted out a none-too-consistent justice to the recalcitrant and the unwary. During the attempted Puritan ascendancy the General Assembly sat in 'the Big Room' and hatched plans for the destruction of the authority of Lord Baltimore's government. In 1655, several boatloads of armed men came sailing up the Patuxent to *Charles' Gift*, sent by Governor Stone, Lord Baltimore's representative, to apprehend Mr. Richardson Preston, and, perhaps, to seize any compromising records which might be found there. Preston was at the time in Providence (afterwards Annapolis) where the Puritan capital had been established. So the house was inhabited only by women and children; but the ladies made a stout resistance.

They garrisoned the dormer windows and poured hot water on the attacking party until the ammunition being exhausted or chilled, the enemy broke into the fortress. Nobody was seriously injured in this scuffle but someone has called this brush 'the first act of war between Englishmen and Englishmen in America,' though it was, of course, completely overshadowed by the bloody little battle which occurred soon after when Governor Stone and about two hundred Cavaliers, marching up to Providence on the Severn, were there defeated and captured with fatal casualties of over fifty men.

During the War of Independence, the house was in the possession of the Parran family, one of whom, Captain Richard Parran, was described as 'a great patriot during the Revolution.' From the lips of one of Mr. Footner's present day neighbors, we are given a spirited narrative of a miniature naval action at the mouth of the River between Joshua Barney's men and the British soldiers and sailors, who were shortly afterwards to triumph at Bladensburg and to burn Washington.

It would be interesting to know what happened in and near this ancient home during the troubled days of the War Between the States—whether in this tidewater area of Maryland so nearly akin to Eastern Virginia in tradition and sentiment, and so remote from Federal observation and control, dark plots for the transmission of intelligence and supplies were woven in 'the Big Room' of Charles' Gift, and whether secret couriers bearing cryptic and fateful despatches, found refuge under 'the steep roof'—or peered eagerly through 'the dormer windows,' to make sure the pursuer was not on the trail. On this point the author is silent, presumably because neither document nor legend has given him warrant to speak.

The book, however, has never been allowed to assume the form of a history—no matter how exciting or how illuminating are the historical episodes of which the author tells. On the contrary, the house is, throughout, the heroine of this warm biography, and every incident, description, character sketch or personal avowal is somehow made to relate itself to Charles' Gift or the gracious plot of land which is its brightly colored garment.

This technique enables the author to give to his work a sense of unity as he deals with what would otherwise have been a rather rambling and disjointed assemblage of unrelated material. For between the covers of this book one finds not only much well told history but transcripts of contemporary gossip,—reflections on manners of yesterday and today—autobiographical detail told with a disarming absence of self-consciousness—little musings on racial and economic problems—hints on practical gardening and automobile repairing—practical experience in amateur architecture—together with whatever other bits of fact and fancy the author felt impelled to bestow upon the reader. Such a text might easily have degenerated into a confused medley of irritating irrelevances, but this pitfall is always evaded by the device of somehow linking every one of these incidents, confessions or opinions to the home the author discovered, remade and cherished with so warm and unwavering an affection. Perhaps it is not just to speak of this method of bookmaking as a 'device.' It may well be the inevitable consequence of so intimate a relationship between the house and the man. What he does, what he remembers, what he thinks, is tinged with the color of his home, while the house itself has taken on, for this generation at least, a huge part of the personality of its master.

Not that there is anything mawkish about Hulbert Footner's attitude to his home. He does not slip into extravagant rhapsody. On the contrary, he whispers to you of the not-very-important shortcomings and curious little blemishes of the old dwelling and its environs, but he does this much as a happy lover would mention his loved one's pet superstition or her inability to keep her check book balanced. All the faults are endearing; everyone of them merely helps to keep his heroine "a creature not too bright or good for human nature's daily food." For some of her charming imperfections he is himself responsible. He would not have it otherwise. It is a perfect mating.

Certainly it seems to be so for him; and out of this mating there has been born an appealing book. There is in it something for the student of history, something for those who grow enthusiastic over old houses, something for the reader who finds in a simple, semi-detached community a microcosm of Life, and above all, there is something big and vital in the book for those who find stimulation and inspiration in the self-revelation of an author whose emotions are real and whose thinking is honest. Charles' Gift, through Hulbert Footner's generosity and artistry, has become a gift to us all.

SIDNEY L. NYBURG.

William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor. By WILLIAM SENER RUSK. Baltimore, Norman T. A. Munder, 1939. 180 pp., 25 plates. \$5.00.

Mr. Rusk's life of the sculptor Rinehart constitutes a long-awaited tribute to the artist with whom, Lorado Taft said, "Beauty first entered into American sculpture." Biographical material of great interest combines with critical evaluations and many delightful personal details to make Mr. Rusk's biography a well-rounded picture of the artist and of his work. The format of the biography and its many beautiful plates were conceived and carried out by the master printer, Norman Munder, in a spirit appropriate to the classical excellence of Rinehart's style.

William Henry Rinehart's life as a sculptor began when he arrived in Baltimore, probably in 1846. He bore a letter of recommendation to Messrs. Gregg, and Mr. Andrew Gregg of this firm arranged to have the future artist apprenticed to Baughman and Bevan, the principal stonecutters of the city. The accidental circumstance of being obliged to repair a mantel in the home of William T. Walters brought Rinehart to the attention of that great patron of art. Thereafter, he had an influential friend whose support was expressed in 1855 by sending him to Italy to study, after he had gone as far as it was then possible to go in the study of sculpture at the Maryland Institute.

Though Rinehart's funds were so limited in Florence that he was obliged to work as a mere stone-cutter, his boundless energy made possible the production of four large oval medallions cut in marble in bas-relief,—“Day,” “Night,” “Winter” and “Spring.” Upon his return to Baltimore in 1857, these were bought by Augustus J. Albert. Their purchase was the beginning of the artist's support by the connoisseurs of the day. Commissions for portrait busts of numerous patrons followed. More imaginative work, doubly appealing to the creative artist, became possible in connection with government buildings in Washington. Here Rinehart executed a fountain for the

old Post Office and two caryatid figures for a clock in the House of Representatives.

But the difficulties of such work were made nearly insuperable by the impossibility of obtaining models in America. Rinehart accordingly returned to Italy, going this time to Rome, and there, except for a short trip to America in 1866, remained until his death in 1874. His largest commission was executed shortly after his arrival in Rome,—the completion of the doors of the House and Senate wings of the National Capitol, begun by Crawford.

During this period, Rinehart's studio became a center for American tourists interested in the arts, and he himself became the friend and protector of American art students in Rome. Elihu Vedder in his *Digressions* gives tribute to Rinehart's kindness and generosity and St. Gaudens likewise extends praise to the artist whom he had known in his student days in Rome. Many interesting references to Baltimorean and other patrons who visited the artist at his studio in Rome appear in his correspondence with the elder Walters, printed by permission of the Walters Art Gallery. Aside from important biographical matter, these letters contain colorful descriptions of Nineteenth Century Rome. The illuminations, chariot races and other festivals contrast with the accounts of the ravages of the cholera and the old Roman fever, of which Rinehart himself was finally a victim.

The artist's work at this time connects him through the great statue of Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney with Severn Teackle Wallis, whose excellent bust by Rinehart was presented to the Peabody Institute by William T. Walters, and with members of the McCoy, Newcomer, Garrett and many other outstanding families of the time. The careful list of the works of Rinehart, supplementing the purely biographical part of the book, includes the names of all who gave commissions or bought his works during his life.

The artist's will, the means by which his executors carried out his desire to create a school of sculpture, and an illustrated account of the principal scholars of the Rinehart School of Sculpture and their work, conclude a biography which makes valuable contributions to the history of Baltimore and of early American collecting and creative art.

DOUGLAS H. GORDON

The Diamondback Terrapin. By FERDINAND C. LATROBE. Baltimore, Twentieth Century Press, 1939. 29 pages. \$2.00.

To those who love good living wherever born this little book will appeal. Mr. Latrobe is right in calling the diamondback terrapin "a superlative luxury." From the author we learn interesting facts about the terrapin which are not generally known. For example, how many know that the terrapin actually gains in weight during the long period of its hibernation? After the summer sun has hatched the terrapin eggs, it is necessary, according to Mr. Latrobe, for the young ones to hide in little holes or crevices in order to escape from carnivorous birds, crabs, etc. They live this way until the fall when, without having eaten anything, they go into hibernation until the following spring. In other words, the terrapin is over six months old before it starts on its usual diet of insects, tiny crabs, aquatic plants, etc.

Mr. Latrobe's book has an interesting account of a contest held in 1893 between Baltimore and Philadelphia to decide which city cooked terrapin the

better way. As Frank H. Hambleton, who represented Baltimore, did not allow the chefs to spoil the naturally rich flavor of the terrapin with spices, flour or wine, the Baltimorean easily won the contest.

These are only a few of the many interesting items in Mr. Latrobe's book about the diamondback terrapin. The little book is attractively and appropriately illustrated with pen and ink sketches.

RAPHAEL SEMMES.

The Riggs Family of Maryland. By JOHN BEVERLEY RIGGS. Baltimore, the Author, 1939. xix, 534 pp. \$10.

In 1926 or thereabouts, the writer of this book review was commissioned by the late General Clinton L. Riggs of Baltimore, on behalf of himself and his wife, to undertake the compilation and redaction of the genealogies of their respective families. General Riggs, due to his own previous efforts, had already accumulated a great amount of material which was supplemented by other Riggs data gathered from English sources and in this country by the late E. Francis Riggs of Washington, D. C. To these data the writer contributed, anonymously, in some measure and the result was the compilation of a sizable work bearing the titles "Riggs and Allied Families" and "Cromwell and Allied Families," in typewritten form, of which only a few copies were made and privately distributed. It is, therefore, with a peculiar sense of gratification that I am privileged to review *The Riggs Family of Maryland*, by John Beverley Riggs.

A preliminary examination of this book from cover to cover creates a most pleasant impression. The binding, the typography, the format and the numerous selected illustrations are excellent. More important, however, is the subject matter, and in this the author displays a remarkable aptitude for collecting and collating his abundant source material, as well as for making independent investigations. The opening chapters on the "Origin of the Family" and "The Riggs Family in England" set forth the results of the more recent explorations in England (see pp. 5-53).

The English or British origin of John Riggs, the founder of this Maryland family, nevertheless remains a mystery, for we know nothing about his parentage and the circumstances which brought him to America. John Riggs is first mentioned in the Maryland records in 1716 when he was devised fifty acres of a tract of land called "Sheppard's Forest," lying in Anne Arundel County, by the will of John Marriott. He was then about thirty years of age. He was thirty-four when he married. Although he possessed small property in the earlier period of his life, he prospered and increased his holdings until he became the owner of 1392 acres of land in the Province. He may not be classed among the more opulent land owners of his time, but the fact that his sons and daughters inter-married with the leading families of colonial Maryland indicates his social position among his contemporaries, a status which has been maintained by his descendants to this day.

The text of this work is interspersed with copious notes of historical and genealogical interest. A lady once remarked that she never read a foot note, because such matter is printed in smaller type and for that reason she regarded the notes as unimportant. On the contrary, information of the greatest value

is not infrequently conveyed through the medium of a footnote, as Mr. Riggs' compilation will attest.

The author shows by many instances the meticulous care which he has bestowed upon his work (see the list of *Corrigenda* at the end of the book). Perhaps, I may be permitted to direct attention also to a few errors as follows: Page 75, line 23, Israel G. Griffith married in 1860, not "1850"; page 91, line 15, read *daughter* of Oscar, etc.; *ibid.*, line 24, read *Horne* instead of "Hoone"; page 327, line 17, read *Jane* instead of "James." The typographical errors are remarkably few for so large a volume of printed matter.

Congratulations, Mr. John Beverley Riggs, on your excellent work, *et macte virtute puer!*

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER.

One Hundred Years of the Baltimore City College. By JAMES CHANCELLOR LEONHART. Baltimore, Roebuck, 1939. 307 pp. \$2.50.

Mr. Leonhart, the Editor, who is English instructor, member of the board of publications, and director of journalism at Baltimore City College, has apparently spared no effort in assembling the vast amount of material which fills this history of City's first hundred years. His narrative, which occupies approximately half of the volume, consists of a year by year chronicle of the College from its establishment, in 1839, as the Male High School to its centennial celebration in 1939.

Through the administrations of ten principals, beginning with Nathan C. Brooks, who, as an educator, text-book writer, author, editor and historian, was a man of more parts than might be inferred from this work, are traced the vicissitudes of the third oldest public high school in the land: the odyssey from Courtland Street through numerous makeshift and inadequate buildings to the present magnificent plant, acquired through untiring struggles against adverse conditions; the growth from the two original, rather grueling, curricula, the English and the Classical, to the now extensive program of studies, both academic and vocational; the inauguration of the five year course (there was even a seriously considered proposal to confer degrees), and its subsequent withdrawal; the rise of the Department of Journalism to its present enviable position; the consistent progress in athletics—all are faithfully if somewhat prosaically recorded.

The latter half of the book consists of short reminiscences contributed by alumni and former principals of the College, as well as members of the present staff, and of statistics on publications, extra-curricular activities, athletics, and other matters. In the memoirs contributed by Dr. Wilbur F. Smith, Principal, 1911-1926; Dr. Frank R. Blake, Principal, 1926-1932; and others is to be found the most interesting, although not the most informative, matter in the book.

This history gives the reader a comprehensive account of the life and achievements of the College; but with such a wealth of fact and tradition available, one cannot help wishing that Mr. Leonhart, instead of editing a compilation of statistics and memoirs, had written a straight and, to use a borrowed phrase, "not too serious" history of one of the Nation's greatest public high schools.

W. BIRD TERWILLIGER.

NOTES AND QUERIES

The appointment of Dr. Raphael Semmes as Librarian was announced on September 15 by the President of the Society. For a long time it has been recognized that in order to fulfill more adequately its major purposes the Society has needed the directing hand and service of an unusual librarian or archivist. It was no mere custodian of the existing collections of the Society that was needed but a scholar with a deep interest in Maryland history and with the initiative and imagination necessary to uncover and secure additional materials so that the rich history of the people of Maryland could be told in all its many aspects. The record of Dr. Semmes promises well for the future of the Society. After graduating from Princeton and Harvard University Law School Mr. Semmes received a Ph. D. degree in history from the Johns Hopkins University with a dissertation entitled "The Economic Beginnings of Maryland, 1634-1661." He then taught for several years, first at Trinity College in Connecticut and later as research professor in the University of Virginia. Returning to Baltimore, he devoted himself to Maryland history. The results of his studies, which bear ample testimony both to his scholarly abilities and to his knowledge of Maryland history, can be found in his two books, *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland*, 1937, and *Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland*, 1938.

W. STULL HOLT

The Maryland Historical Society, in the pages of its *Magazine*, wishes to express its high appreciation of a valuable piece of volunteer work done by one of its members, Mrs. E. M. Borden of the Washington Apartments, Baltimore.

Mrs. Borden has typed in a clear format and with unfailing accuracy the contents of 467 bound volumes containing approximately 8,100 pamphlets. Having the contents in so compact and concise a form has been of great service in selecting the titles of greatest interest and value for early cataloguing, and of aiding students searching for pamphlet material on specific subjects.

The magnitude of the undertaking can perhaps best be estimated by the fact that the typing of the contents of volumes 53-520 has engaged much of Mrs. Borden's time over a period of several years. The Society thanks Mrs. Borden for valuable work exceedingly well done.

L. H. DIELMAN,
Chairman, Library Committee.

Members of Maryland societies in other states, such as the Maryland Society of New York, are requested by President Radcliffe to send to the Maryland Historical Society the names of their organizations and a list of the officers. The Society desires to have a record of these groups.

Rumsey's Invention of the Water-Tube Boiler—The first number of *West Virginia History* (October, 1939), a newcomer among historical magazines, which is published by the Department of Archives and History of West

Virginia, carries in leading position an article by Dr. Matthew Page Andrews entitled "James Rumsey, 'Ingenious Mechanic' and International Genius." Dr. Andrews marshals competent witnesses to show that Rumsey, a native Marylander, first obtained in England in 1788 and later in this country a patent on the water-tube boiler which in recent times has become a vital part of steam plants the world over. At the dedication of the Rumsey Bridge across the Potomac at Shepherdstown last July 15 Dr. Andrews represented the Maryland Historical Society as one of the committee appointed by President Radcliffe to attend.

Letters that passed between John McDonogh in New Orleans and officials of the Maryland State Colonization Society in Baltimore, from the papers of the latter organization in possession of the Maryland Historical Society, have been edited by William D. Hoyt, Jr., and published in the *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXIV, p. 440-453 (October 1939).

Zimmerman—Names of parents of George Zimmerman and his wife Mary Ann (Hess?) are wanted. Both were born in Carroll County c. 1800.

Mrs. A. W. Boswell,
314 N H Street Monmouth, Ill.

Bristow and Sturts—Mr. C. Bristow, of 17 Congreve Road, Worthing, England, would like to hear of the descendants or relatives of a lady, who before marriage was named Bristow (Fanny). She married a chemist and came to America near 1855; or of the descendants of the Sussex Sturts who went to Virginia from Sussex, England, about the same year.

Poston—I seek information about John Poston (1739) and William Poston, his son. They lived in St. Mary's County and Charles County, Maryland.

Mrs. Florence Poston Hansen,
Rural Route 1, Emporia, Kan.

Tolley—Edward Carvil Tolley, 1753-1795, was the husband of Delia Tolley. The following notice was inserted in the *Maryland Journal* June 3, 1783: "Tolley, Delia. Harford Co. May 17, 1783. On Wednesday evening the 14th ult. Mrs. Delia Tolley wife of Edward Carvil Tolley Esq. Buried at Spesutia Church." I am anxious to know the maiden name of Delia Tolley.

O. K. Tolley,
Corbett, Maryland.

Woodward—Information is desired concerning Richard Woodward of Bradford Tp., Chester Co., Pa., whose daughter Deborah, born June 27, 1710, married William Bennett, May 21, 1730.

Also information concerning Hugh Riley of "The Forest," Somerset Co., Md., whose daughter Lydia married Thomas van Sweringen in 1712.

Susan S. Bennett,
(Mrs. John Bennett),
37 Legare St., Charleston, S. C.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

October 9 1939—At the regular meeting of the Society it was announced that Dr. Raphael Semmes had been appointed as Librarian of the Society, and that the Council was pleased to secure the services of Dr. Semmes.

A list of the donations made to the Society during the summer months was not read in full, due to its length, but in this connection it was brought to the attention of the meeting that the Society had received pictures, furniture, and miscellaneous items from the separate estates of Miss Sally Randolph Carter, Miss Ellen Howard Bayard, and Miss Elizabeth Grant McIlvain. The items from the Carter estate will be exhibited on the third floor.

The following were elected to membership:

Active

Mrs. Carl Ross McKenrick	Mrs. Harry S. Davis
Miss Mary E. Hobbs	Mr. W. J. Crabbs
Mr. Lewis M. Elphinstone	

Associate

Mr. Reuben Satterwaite, Jr.	Mr. Charles A. Owens
Mr. S. D. Townsend	

United States Senator Prentiss M. Brown, of Michigan, gave a very interesting talk on the subject, "Contrasts between the Settlement and Development of a Midwestern State and Some of the Thirteen Colonies."

November 13, 1939—At the regular meeting of the Society a list of donations was read. The following named persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Douglas H. Beall	Mr. William J. Kelley
Mrs. L. B. Clemens	Mr. Henry A. Lowry
Mr. Charles Hurley Cox	Maj. Tryon M. Shepherd, U. S. A.
Mrs. Edward William Digges	Mr. Milton Streck
Mr. Charles C. Duke	Miss Edith V. Thompson
Mrs. Edith E. Fowler	Mrs. Rudolph Vincenti
Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway	Gen. Amos W. W. Woodcock
Mrs. Henry S. Young	

Associate

Dr. Leo Behrendt	Mrs. James Peyton Powell
Mrs. James Byrne	Mr. William Ewen Richardson
Mrs. Louise Heaton	Mr. Carroll T. Sinclair
Mr. William E. Patterson	Mrs. Frederick Vercoe
Mrs. J. Pilling Wright	

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Mr. John Collins Daves, on November 2, 1939.
 Judge James Poultney Gorter, on November 10, 1939.

Judge Edward S. Delaplaine, of the Court of Appeals of Maryland, gave an interesting talk. His subject was "Adventures in Maryland Biography."

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